

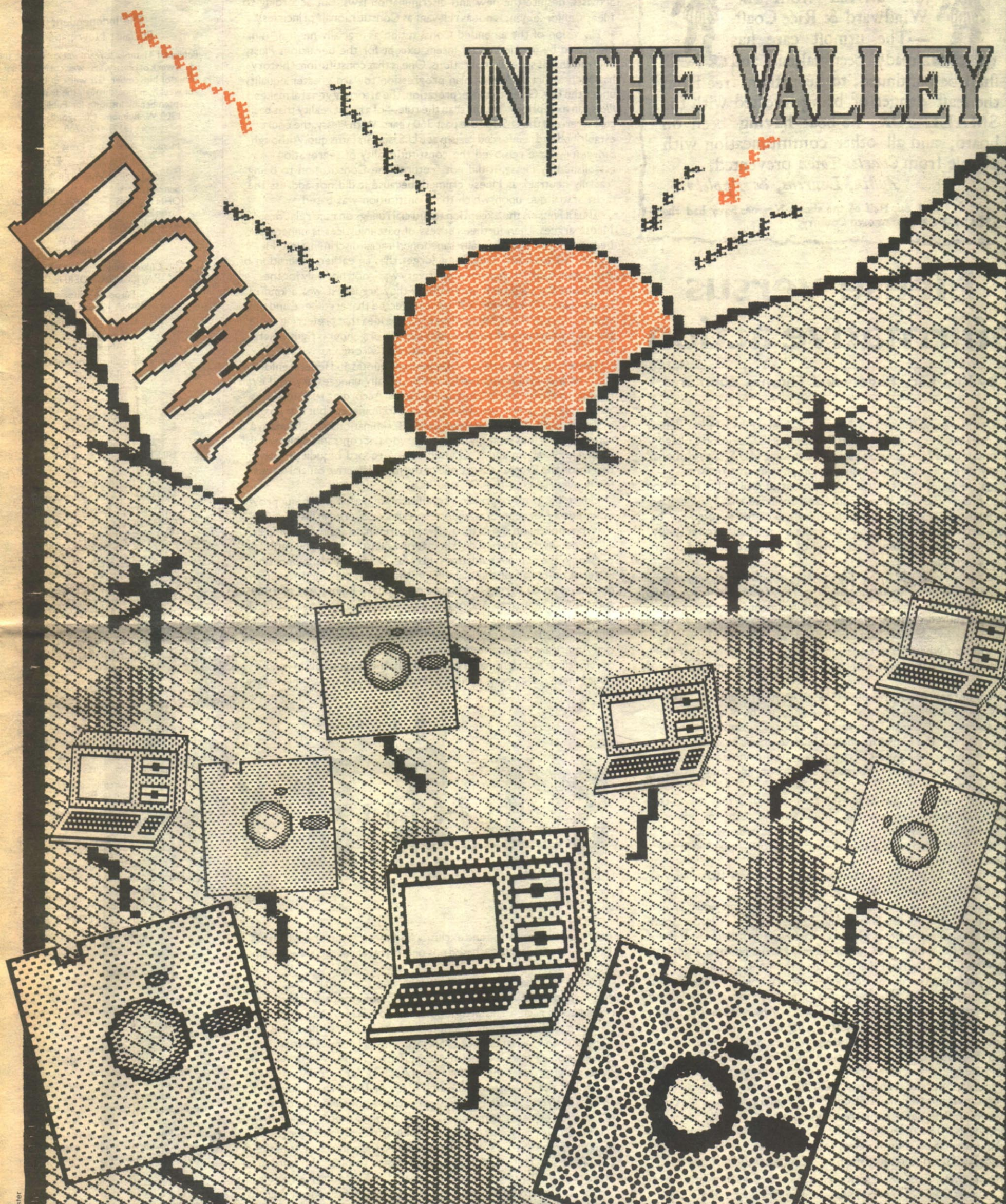
# IN THESE TIMES

VOL. 9, NO. 37

OCTOBER 2-8, 1985

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## IN THE VALLEY



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**TO BE SOLD on board the Ship *Bance-Island*, on tuesday the 6th of May next, at *Ashley-Ferry*; a choice cargo of about 250 fine healthy**

**NEGROES,** just arrived from the *Windward & Rice Coast*. —The utmost care has already been taken, and shall be continued, to keep them free from the least danger of being infected with the **SMALL-POX**, no boat having been on board, and all other communication with people from *Charles-Town* prevented.

*Austin, Laurens, & Appleby.*

*N. B. Full one Half of the above Negroes have had the SMALL-POX in their own Country.*

A Pictorial History of Black Americans

## Meese versus affirmative action

By Kim Lacy Rogers and Thomas Zoumaras

CARLISLE, PA

An overflow crowd heard U.S. Attorney General Edwin Meese deliver a major civil rights policy speech at Pennsylvania's Dickinson College on September 17. He offered a selective reading of U.S. constitutional history to justify current administration policies that oppose affirmative action and contradict the intent of civil rights legislation enacted over the last 30 years. Meese concluded that discrimination is wrong against individuals, but that it could not be redressed with numerical quotas for groups—the basis, until recently, of affirmative action efforts on behalf of blacks, women and other minority groups.

He argued that the Constitution never supported slavery. Meese cited such founding fathers and slaveholders as Thomas Jefferson, and said, "The Constitution did not make fundamental concessions to slavery at the level of principle. Nowhere in the Constitution do the words 'slavery' or 'slave' appear. Indeed, the framers of the Constitution, while forced by political realities to tolerate slavery for a while in practice, never accepted that 'peculiar institution' in principle."

Many historians would dispute Meese's claim. The famous "three-fifths clause"—which made each slave three-fifths of a person for representational, but not for voting, purposes—contradicts his argument. For the constitutional authors to count chattel to be represented by the master class from the slaveholding states, at least a few of the founding fathers must have had a principled stake in the slave system.

Meese then contradicted himself by also arguing that it was the "Civil War Amendments"—the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments, which ended slavery, guaranteed the right of due process under the law and gave freed male slaves the right to vote—that made the Constitution "officially color-blind."

The attorney general's discussion of the infamous 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision was even more creative. With this ruling, the Supreme Court upheld the principle of "separate but equal" public accommodations for the increasingly segregated races in the South. While admitting that *Plessy* was a step backward and "neutered" the advances of the Civil War Amendments, Meese omitted another Supreme Court decision that paralleled the policy implications of *Plessy*, and, in fact, reinforced them. This was the 1873 Supreme Court decision in the *Slaughter-House Cases*, which eventually defined corporations as individuals in order to protect their operations from local and state interference. By classifying them as individuals, the Court ruling maximized corporate privileges against the claims of other segments of American society. In his speech Meese acknowledged that separate but equal was a "noxious principle," but he ignored the context and consequences of the two decisions—the federal government's obliteration of black rights as a group, and the elevation of the rights conferred upon business interests as "individuals." The decisions resulted in sanctioning the exploitation of American blacks, industrial workers and small farmers by industrial corporations and railroads, with the government's tacit approval.

Meese ignored the implications of his own remarks by overlooking this context. The 58-year period separating *Plessy* from the landmark 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* decision—declaring segregated schools were inherently unequal—was a time of rampant discrimination, disenfranchisement and white terrorism for millions of blacks, made possible by the *Plessy* and *Slaughter-House* decisions. These years saw bloody clashes instigated by whites, such as the 1919 Chicago race riot in which 38 people—23 of them black—were killed; the lynching on an average of 187 blacks per year during the late 19th century; numerous cases of voter fraud and voting illegalities throughout the South. There are several reasons why such systematic racism against blacks was possible. Among the most important was that a fundamental premise of the 14th Amendment—the right of all citizens to due process under the law—was systematically denied to blacks with the acquiescence, if not the full consent of the U.S. government.

Although Meese acknowledged that the *Brown* case "decisively rejected" the segregation principle of *Plessy*, he glossed over the historical realities of racism and of black struggle for basic civil rights. Meese chose to ignore the fact that the government's record after *Brown*—through the era of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965—demonstrated tardy and haphazard enforcement of judicial mandates. This pattern of non-enforcement gave white segregationists tacit, and sometimes overt, approval in their efforts to destroy black voter registration campaigns, black churches and community centers, and to maim or murder black and white civil rights activists, despite the new anti-discrimination laws. But according to Meese, enforcement is not as relevant as Constitutional "principles."

His vision of the amended Constitution as "racially neutral," unblemished by discriminatory intent except for the pernicious *Plessy* aberration, has several implications. One is that constitutional history has been a sort of Augustinian progression toward greater equality under the law. Given this interpretation, the attorney general makes *Plessy* an exception—rather than the rule—of a racist reality that has characterized the U.S. for the past 360 years. With *Plessy*, the court established and reinforced racism as a U.S. social status quo. Although *Brown* may have removed the constitutionality of segregation established by *Plessy*, it did not "return" the Constitution to being "racially neutral," as Meese claimed, because it did not address the racist status quo upon which the Constitution was based.

Thus if *Plessy* is the exception to judicial rulings on race relations, Meese argues, then further redress of past injustices is unnecessary because *Brown* ended legally sanctioned racial discrimination. He added, "[Americans] should not forget that an earlier generation of Americans heard from some that slavery was good not only for the slaves but for society. It was natural, they argued; it was a kind of benevolence. The people of America rejected that argument, and the vast majority of Americans today reject the idea that preferring some people for certain jobs because of their race or gender is right. There is no other way to say it: discrimination is wrong."

Therefore, affirmative action, numerical quotas and federal enforcement of past civil rights legislation is logically unnecessary, and even harmful to the beneficiaries of such policies. According to Meese, this "benevolence" is not just a new type of discrimination, but is as wrong as slavery itself. But linking slavery and discrimination with affirmative action is a specious strategy at best. At worst, it contradicts historical evidence of racism and is an insult to the record of judicial activism that made the Warren Court one of the most effective official forces for human rights in the '50s and '60s.

Meese bases his opposition to affirmative action on the unproven assumption—except for anecdotal references offered in his speech—that such policies in and of themselves discriminate against individuals, and he denies that there is discrimination against groups. This rationale overlooks the copious evidence—in NAACP legal briefs, supporting material on behalf of the plaintiffs in the *Brown* case, and testimony presented to Congress in support of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965—of discrimination against blacks as both individuals and members of a group, discrimination that affirmative action seeks to remedy. This evidence clearly indicates that Americans are discriminated against because they are members of vulnerable and identifiable groups. Thus, the "individualism" underlying Meese's argument against affirmative action denies the nature

## THE STORY INSIDE

of official discrimination and exclusion in American history, which has been and continues to be based not only on race, but on sex, ethnicity, age and class.

Meese said that the Reagan administration "maintains that discrimination is a wrong against individuals, not groups, and must be remedied as such." This attitude has led to policies that undermine the spirit and, sometimes, the letter of major judicial decisions and legislation on civil rights since 1954, including: (1) Justice Department prosecution of black politician Albert Turner and seven other civil rights activists under the Voting Rights Act in order to maintain white control of the "Alabama Black Belt" (see *In These Times*, July 10, 1985); (2) White House efforts to repeal provisions allowing the use of statistical evidence of historic discrimination to support affirmative action complaints against employers holding federal contracts; (3) The Reagan administration's attempts to weaken the enforcement of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and parallel efforts to place the burden of proof on plaintiffs who seek protection under the Voting Rights Act.

Meese may have had other reasons to make this speech than to justify administration policy. Delivering his address at a college campus in central Pennsylvania may have been a calculated move to challenge the re-election campaign of Sen. Arlen Specter in his own backyard. This would send a signal to state Republicans to rally behind the unannounced candidacy of Republican Gov. Richard Thornburgh for the U.S. Senate next year. Specter antagonized the Reagan administration with his support for extending the Voting Rights Act, and, most recently, with his vocal opposition to the appointment of William Bradford Reynolds as Associate Attorney General in charge of the Justice Department Civil Rights Division.

Kim Lacy Rogers and Thomas Zoumaras are members of the Dickinson College History Department.

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# High stakes of German defense debate

By Diana Johnstone

B O N N

**I**N 1995 THE NUCLEAR WEAPONS NON-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) runs out. That same year the large-scale reprocessing plant at Wackersdorf in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) is scheduled to start separating five tons of plutonium per year, enough for about 500 modern nuclear warheads. This will complete in a big way West Germany's already considerable capacity to be a major nuclear weapons state.

Controversy surrounding the current NPT review conference in Geneva has focused on the scandalous "vertical" proliferation of the two superpowers or on fears of hypothetical "horizontal" proliferation, especially to supposedly irresponsible Third World states. Little attention is being paid to the "latent" proliferation of nuclear weaponry to the major advanced industrial countries allied to the U.S. But this is where proliferation is almost sure to happen if the U.S. sticks to its present course.

Already in 1966 James Schlesinger put the FRG on the top of his list of potential atomic powers. Today its capacity has expanded under the cover of "peaceful" nuclear cooperation with France, an unabashed nuclear state, and with Third World countries that refused to sign the NPT, such as Brazil, Argentina, South Africa and Pakistan.

What has been largely forgotten is the strong West German opposition to the NPT when it was being negotiated in the late '60s and even after it was concluded in 1970. It was German pressure that succeeded in putting a time limit on the treaty, so that it will run out—if not successfully renegotiated—in 1995. What makes this past history especially significant is that the men in power in Bonn today are the same who stubbornly opposed the NPT over a decade ago, and now their American allies (the right wing of the Republican Party) are in power in Washington.

A group of researchers, Greens and Social Democrats attempted to call attention to these and other pertinent facts at a recent conference in Bonn provocatively titled "Atombomben Made in Germany." The information was abundant and convincing, the audience sparse. For fairly obvious reasons, there is slight chance that German opposition to German nuclear weapons will grow into a movement comparable to the one that opposed American nuclear missile deployment in the FRG. On the contrary and quite predictably, lingering public resentment over the Pershing II and cruise missiles helps create a mood of public acceptance for an eventual nuclear force under German control. Constitutional lawyer Helmut Ridder predicted that current "twaddle about a supposed 'sovereignty deficiency' which has infected even the peace movement" would be the political basis for the nuclear arming of the FRG.

## West German armament

The Reagan administration is in effect pushing for West German nuclear armament—and for proliferation in general—by undermining the nuclear arms control structure initiated by the Democrats in the '60s. After starting to put at least something like a lid on "vertical" proliferation through the 1963 partial test ban treaty, it followed that the U.S. and the USSR sought to control "horizontal" proliferation. Right-wing West German Christian Democrats fought the NPT tooth and nail. Adenauer's foreign policy had been based on building up West German military strength within NATO, the better to force the Russians to negotiate reunification from a position of strength—including restoration of former German ter-

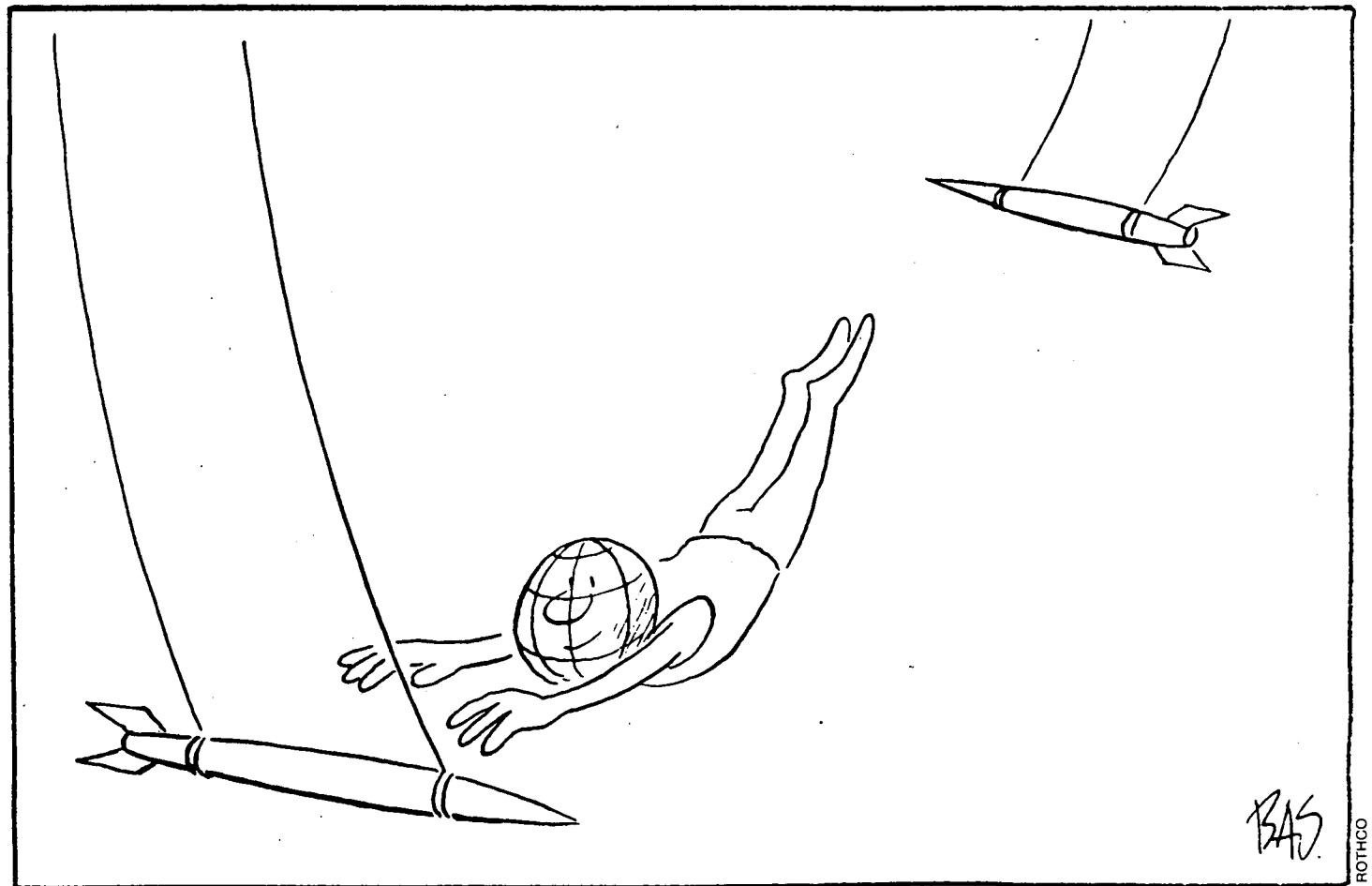
ritories incorporated into the USSR and Poland after World War II).

As late as 1968, Chancellor Kurt Kiesinger said that the FRG differed from other countries in that "for us overcoming the status quo is a binding task." And in 1965, physicist Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker (brother of the current president) noted that the FRG was the only country in Central Europe with open territorial claims. This made it necessary "to obstruct the American attempt to reach agreement with the Russians on European problems."

In 1965, Ludwig Erhard's foreign minister, Gerhard Schröder dropped a few subtle hints that only inclusion in the projected Multi-Lateral Force (MLF), which would have given the Germans a large measure of joint control over sea-based nuclear forces within the framework of NATO, would prevent the FRG from making a few atomic bombs of its own. In 1954, in order to be allowed to arm and develop its own civilian nuclear industry, the FRG accepted restrictions on its armament imposed by its main European allies in the West European Union (WEU). But this ban on "manufacturing atomic weapons on German soil" left loopholes for acquiring nuclear weapons or manufacturing them elsewhere, and besides, it was all within the NATO family and could—indeed would—be eased. A non-proliferation treaty with the Soviet Union would be much more inhibiting.

There was consternation in West German ruling circles in 1966 when President Lyndon Johnson dropped the Multi-Lateral Force and moved toward detente, including a non-proliferation treaty, with the USSR in the hope that Moscow would help find a face-saving way out of the Vietnam quagmire. The post-war Christian Democratic monopoly of power was brought to an end and space opened to the Social Democrats

**The Reagan administration is, in effect, pushing for West German nuclear armament.**



(SPD) who proposed to use rather than fight detente with a new Ostpolitik. On December 1, 1966, the "grand coalition" took over with Kurt Kiesinger (CDU) as chancellor; Franz Josef Strauss (CSU) as finance minister and Willy Brandt (SPD) as foreign minister.

Strauss was the most prominent of the "German Gaullists" who favored a nuclear-armed WEU and fiercely opposed detente as a weakening of the West, a Soviet ploy to "legalize Yalta" as well as to frustrate the consolidation of an independent West European power. February 1967 saw an outbreak of what *Der Spiegel* called "political hysteria" on the right against the NPT. Strauss called the NPT "a new Versailles Treaty" (this time of "cosmic proportions"). Ex-chancellor Adenauer and others called it "a new Morgenthau Plan" designed to sabotage German industrial development.

Foreign minister Brandt's position was different, but not entirely. At SPD party congresses in 1960 and 1964, Brandt strongly supported a multilateral nuclear force. Then at the 1966 SPD congress, Helmut Schmidt called for making all possible use of the opportunities afforded by detente to improve the German-German situation. This required "eliminating fear of Germany" in Eastern Europe. Reluctance to sign the NPT would be counter-productive.

Shortly after taking over as foreign minister, Brandt said that the "heart of the problem" was that the NPT "ought not to forbid a common European atomic power." This "European option" was kept open in two ways. For one, the Germans succeeded in putting an expiration date on the treaty. For another, in a legally valid (because not disputed by the Russians) "interpretation" of the NPT to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, secretary of state Dean Rusk said it "would not bar succession by a new federated European state to the nuclear status of one of its members."

The Rusk interpretation contained another, and highly ambiguous, stipulation noted with interest in Germany that the NPT would cease to be binding in case of a decision to start a war, without specifying who would make such a decision, who would judge it had been made, or how.

At first Bonn considered following the French example and staying out of the NPT. But this was impossible since Moscow's main interest in the NPT was in stopping West German nuclear arms development. The Soviets made their signature contingent on the FRGs.

Within the West German political establishment, a compromise position developed around the nuclear industry, which at the time was dependent on American uranium deliveries and was in no position to defy the Johnson administration's desire for a treaty intended to show the American public that progress was being made toward world peace. The NPT actually helped the export-oriented German nuclear industry to expand by accrediting the notion of a clear distinction between military and "peaceful civilian" nuclear development. Today, specialists see that the two are inextricably linked. The plutonium economy is inherently "proliferating."

Researcher Matthias Küntzel contends that the German nationalist uproar against the NPT actually strengthened Brandt's bargaining position, helping him to obtain changes in the original NPT sought by the nuclear power industry. Thus objectively, says Küntzel, there was a sort of "distribution of roles" among German leaders, with the reasonable Brandt obtaining concessions in order to appease the unreasonable "German Gaullists" or at least win a majority for the NPT over their objections.

## The real motive

Thus the FRG obtained, in addition to the 1995 cut-off and the Rusk Interpretation, recognition of the right to produce—and dispose of freely—plutonium, the unimpeded export of nuclear fuels, and, most important, removal of the FRG and all European Community members from the treaty control jurisdiction of the Vienna-based International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) that supervises other non-nuclear weapons signatories to the NPT. Instead, exclusive control jurisdiction over European Community members was given to the Community's own agency EURATOM. The German argument against the IAEA was fear of industrial espionage, but anti-nuclear critics suspect that the real motive was to facilitate subsequent nuclear exports to Third World countries with nuclear weapons ambitions that have never accepted IAEA controls.

Even these favorable conditions did not convince the die-hards. It was not until four years after the NPT went into effect in 1970 that the Bundestag finally ratified the treaty on Feb. 20, 1974. The Christian Democrats split, 111 for and 90 against. Among those who never accepted the NPT are leading cabinet members in the current Bonn gov-

*Continued on page 22*



# INSHORT

Beth Maschinot

## A leakproof France

The first to be arrested in France in connection with the sinking of the *Rainbow Warrior* was not any of the French officials who admittedly ordered the crime against the Greenpeace flagship last July 10 in the New Zealand port at Auckland, but rather four intelligence officers accused of leaking the truth to the press.

In *These Times'* European editor Diana Johnstone reports that in this as in other respects, the comparisons between the Greenpeace affair and Watergate do not go very far. "Deep Throat" never took the rap for Watergate.

At the same time, Admiral Pierre Lacoste, head of the DGSE (General Direction of External Security) which carried out the bungled sabotage, was discretely retired to another job while Defense Minister Charles Hernu retired to his neglected function as socialist mayor of a Lyons suburb. Hernu was designated by Prime Minister Laurent Fabius as "politically responsible."

Admiral Lacoste was quickly replaced by Army Chief of Staff General Rene Imbot, a military man with a much tougher image. His nomination as head of the secret service shows that the Greenpeace affair has decisively strengthened the hand of the military in the wobbling socialist government. General Imbot is a former Foreign Legion commander, a veteran of colonial war in Indochina and Algeria. His philosophy, that intelligence without action is a waste of time, suggests that the DGSE under his command will be no less active. His iron discipline will probably be applied first to plugging leaks.

General Imbot also spent a year at the command staff college at Fort Leavenworth in the U.S. and three years at NATO headquarters in Heidelberg. He thus looks like a good man to strengthen coordination of the DGSE with the CIA and NATO intelligence services. He arrives on the scene at a time when France is in fact integrating its nuclear forces into NATO, while whipping up public support for its nuclear testing in the South Pacific by claiming to preserve national independence through the *force de frappe*.

General Imbot has been a close collaborator of the returned head of the joint chiefs of staff, General Jeannou Lacaze, one of two top military men rumored to have been aware of the operation against the *Rainbow Warrior*, if not actually to have given the order. The other is General Jean-Michel Saulnier, President Mitterrand's personal chief of staff, who released the funds for the operation.

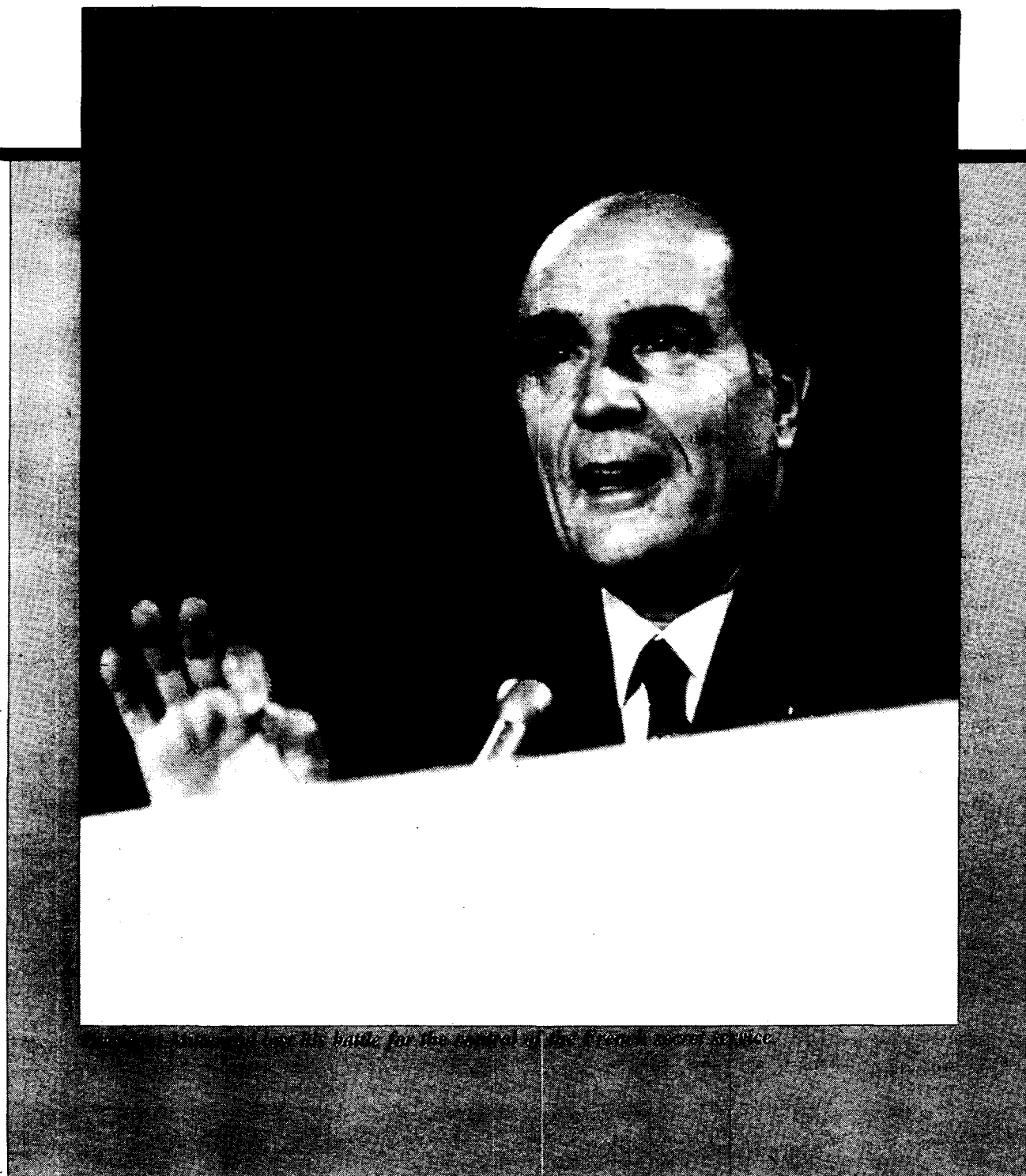
Mitterrand has thereby decisively lost his battle for control of the secret service to the top officer corps.

## Footing the bill

The AIDS battleground may be turning from schools to the insurance industry, as insurance companies scurry to find ways of excluding AIDS patients from their rolls. In the past few months, the California legislature has been courted by the insurance industry's largest trade organization, the American Council of Life Insurance (ACLI). Wisconsin's legislature is targeted for autumn lobbying from the ACLI. Both states have the most liberal anti-AIDS discrimination laws on record, establishing confidentiality for people who take the HTLV 3 antibody test (the so-called "AIDS virus" test) and prohibiting denial of employment or insurance for anyone who tests positive.

With hospital bills for AIDS patients soaring in the \$40,000 to \$140,000 range, however, the ACLI is trying to overturn the legislation. The companies contend that using the test would be a fairer option than some of the others they're considering to avoid "overburdening" the industry with AIDS claims. These range from denying coverage to "known or suspected homosexuals" (information sometimes available on past health records), excluding single males who've had an incidence of other sexually transmitted diseases in the past, raising the premiums for young single males in general, or writing exclusionary clauses into contracts that do away with all AIDS-related claims. Four of Wisconsin's largest insurance companies—including Blue Cross and Blue Shield—announced last week that they were looking into the possibility of using this exclusionary clause.

The gay community is alarmed: according to the Centers for Disease Control, when the HTLV 3 reads positive, only 5 to 10 percent progress to a full-blown case of AIDS. But the insurance industry's alternatives are just as inconclusive and divisive, likely to pit gays



against straights once more.

The astronomical costs of AIDS treatment necessitates help from insurance companies or the government. Steve Rish, vice-president of Nationwide Insurance Company, thinks placing the burden on insurance companies is unfair: "only people on flood plains want insurance. Insurance companies cannot afford and should not afford the tremendous costs associated with expenses following a flood. So the federal government addresses flood insurance." Not predisposed to see the AIDS epidemic as just another "act of God," however, the federal government is more likely to sit on the sidelines and watch, while insurance companies increasingly try to ferret out AIDS victims—or potential victims—from their rolls.

## Floating to safety

Top executives in roughly half of the Fortune 100 companies have "golden parachute" contracts that permit them to bail out with lucrative financial packages if their company is taken over in a hostile merger. But hundreds of ordinary workers often get an abrupt heave-ho after such raids without even a leaky parachute to break their fall.

David Moberg reports that the Food and Allied Services Trade Department (FAST) of the AFL-CIO, representing three million union members, has started the first campaign to offer protection for workers in hostile takeovers. It introduced a stockholder resolution for the October 4 annual meeting of Delchamps, Inc.—a fast growing grocery chain in the South—that would provide one year's wages and benefits for any worker fired after a takeover or anyone who quits because of a distant transfer, or cutbacks in wages, benefits or hours. Employees own 12.9 percent of the stock, although the Delchamps family still controls 37 percent. Management has opposed the resolution on the grounds that such protection would induce complacency.

Delchamps is non-union. Whether the stockholder resolution is successful or not, it may suggest to workers that an employment contract would be a good idea—even if there is no takeover. FAST plans to try the idea at other union and non-union companies in the service sector, especially those with employee stock ownership plans.

## Labor saving idea

Another novel way for U.S. companies to deal with the

trauma of layoffs is called "short-time compensation," and it's making the rounds of state legislatures these days. In states that have okayed the legislation, employers use unemployment insurance to supplement work-sharing. Instead of a factory laying off 20 of its 100 full-time workers, the employees would be cut back to 32 hours and would receive unemployment compensation for the fifth day. Benefits like health care wouldn't be affected.

Short-time compensation has its drawbacks: the unemployment compensation eventually runs out and the unemployment supplement doesn't go quite as far as a regular paycheck, but all in all it's being pushed as a far more humane alternative to selective lay-offs. So far, eight states have passed the legislation—New York and Texas most recently joining California, Arizona, Oregon, Washington, Florida and Maryland. In New York, the campaign for short-time compensation was spearheaded by the Workers Defense League, and joined by the state AFL-CIO, National Organization for Women, National Urban League and others.

## "SUNY six"

Three students from the State University of New York (SUNY) in Albany were released from jail after serving a reduced sentence for their anti-apartheid activity last week—and just in time to celebrate the SUNY board of trustee's surprising divestment vote.

SUNY, one of the largest statewide systems in the country, owns \$11 million in stock in companies in South Africa. A six-year divestment campaign picked up steam at a board meeting last April when the board voted unanimously to reject divestment, and 26 students took over the business office of the administration building. Twenty-six were arrested, six pled not guilty and went to trial in August. The judge found their cause praiseworthy, but illegal, and fined them \$250. He also gave them a 15-day sentence which he said would be suspended if only they'd let up on the divestment issue for a year. Refusing the offer, three of the six went to jail.

They were released just in time to plan the protest at the September 24 trustee's meeting. But the post-vote protest was unnecessary—the pro-divestment vote was nine to four. Attributing the victory to the increasingly violent situation in South Africa and the sacrifice of the "SUNY 6," student Eveline MacDougall said the protesters will now turn their energy to bigger game: the New York state legislature that controls \$4 billion in pension funds invested in South Africa.



By Salim Muwakkil

**A**WELTER OF RECENT STATISTICS showing black students lagging way behind whites in scoring on standardized tests has reinvigorated public debate on this country's failure to adequately educate black children.

At one end of the debate are those who contend that institutional racism is and will always be the problem. This country has a vested interest in keeping blacks ignorant, they argue. "Things haven't changed much since the days when it was illegal for slaves to read," says Chicago writer and educator Haki Madhubuti.

At another end are those who maintain blacks are inferior and innately incapable of competing with whites on standardized tests of intelligence. These people range from ostensibly serious scientists, like Arthur Jensen, to serious racists.

Between these extremes are several alternative arguments—some calling for back-to-basics academic discipline, others for more innovative pedagogic techniques—that are dizzying in their variety. It's also ironic that this concern for educational measurement is reaching new heights at the time that standardized testing is coming under fire from an increasing number of specialists in the field.

Although uncertainties remain about the effectiveness of "old time" spit-and-polish teaching methods, the debate on remedies for students' low test scores is being framed by the neoconservative consensus now in vogue. That view argues a system of rigorous academic standards must be established and educators must expect students to meet those standards. This is also the Reagan administration's position which is currently investigating charges that some high schools have lowered graduation standards for minority students. William Bradford Reynolds, the assistant attorney general for civil rights, called such practices "highly offensive" to the Constitution.

Although most black leaders would publicly share Reynold's disdain for those practices, their private response would be much more ambivalent. Just as they were in 1983 when the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) proposed a requirement that all college-bound high school athletes have a grade-point average of at least 2.0 (out of a 4.0 maximum) and a minimum combined Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) score of 700. Although this proposal was designed to prevent exploitation of youth athletes, it was strongly opposed by black college presidents and civil rights leaders who realized how few black students score 700.

Such ambivalence arises from a general reluctance to concede all powers of evaluation to rigid test protocol, as well as a realization that the legacy of slavery and Jim Crowism is much deeper and more pervasive than the current crop of "color blind" politicians would like to believe. But then there are the numbers:

- Scores on the SAT released last week revealed that among last June's high school graduates, whites combined scores averaged 940 out of a possible 1,600 and blacks averaged 722.

- A recent report by the National Assessment of Educational Progress, a federal monitoring program of public education, found that an average 17-year-old black student read on the same level as a white 13-year-old.

- The California Bar Committee of Bar Examiners released a report in 1980 revealing that only 26.6 percent of the black applicants passed the bar exam, while 71.9 percent of the whites passed.

- In the test Florida gives to aspiring teachers, the pass rate is 80 percent for whites, but for blacks it's between 35-40 percent.

These are only a few examples, the list goes on. Whatever may have caused this disparity is a question that is being lost in an urgent attempt to find remedies.

### Time is running out

"A fire bell is ringing in the night," writes M. Carl Holman in the recent issue of

*Ebony* magazine. "Many beleaguered black Americans may not hear it amid the din of other urgent problems clamoring for immediate attention. But hear and respond they must, because it is warning that time is running out for marshaling the energy and ingenuity required to meet head on the unprecedented threat to their future posed by the undereducation and miseducation of black children..."

Holman is president of the National Urban Coalition (NUC) and a long-time

wasting resources that could have been better utilized.

The currently ascendant view counsels black leadership to shift their gaze from outward discrimination toward internal pathologies that manifest themselves in black culture. Curiously, the emerging grassroots leadership agrees with that advice. They are not yet ready, however, to let white political leadership off the hook or declare racism irrelevant.

The most significant development in the

## EDUCATION

# Blacks' test scores reignite controversy



IN THE NATION

Peggy McMahon

lobbyist for civil rights legislation. He is admittedly attempting to provoke alarm with the *Ebony* piece because, he said, "If current trends continue unchecked, the consequences will be quite serious for the total society and disastrous for the black community."

Most observers of black community dynamics agree with Holman's bleak assessment. In fact, many civil rights activists have long argued for an improved federal commitment to the problems affecting black education. "We've been dealing with declining achievement rates and the miseducation of our children for a long time," said Beverly Cole, the national education director of the NAACP. She contends it took reports on the slippage of the scores of white students to get the public interested in the issue.

Yet some accuse Holman and the civil rights establishment of long ignoring the problem for fear of feeding the arguments of racists. Critics charged that they narrowly focused the education issues on the issue of school integration, shifting the emphasis away from the real problem while

current debate seems to be that the arguments are converging as the educational crisis worsens. Holmes wrote, "...with all due respect to all the valuable allies we have had and now have, we cannot expect George [a euphemism for white paternalism] to do it. Certainly in every urban community there are enough black churches, clubs, fraternities, sororities, fraternal orders and auxiliaries, business and professional groups to provide the help minority children, parents and schools so badly need." And this is written by the head of a group created to lobby for federal assistance to urban areas.

Holman, like many others familiar with the situation, understand that the problem is more complex than a lack of resources for ghetto schools—although that remains a problem—but involves a combination of elements, including family background and education, cultural orientation, teacher expectation, economic security, environmental influences and peers.

"It's a socio-economic issue," said Harold L. Hodgkinson of the Institute for Educational Leadership. Quoted in a recent

*Washington Post* article, Hodgkinson noted, "It's a problem of access to information, books" and other educational advantages of affluence.

In a recent article in *The New Republic*, authors Jeff Howard and Ray Hammond argue that cultural attitudes incline blacks to avoid intellectual competition and that avoidance is what undermines black performance. They argue that until blacks face down the "terrible rumor" of their intellectual inferiority they will be ever haunted by it.

"Acknowledging the performance gap is, in many minds, tantamount to inferring that blacks are intellectually inferior," they write. "But inferior performance and inferior ability are not the same thing. Rather, the performance gap is largely a behavioral problem. It is the result of a remediable tendency to avoid intellectual engagement and competition. Avoidance is rooted in the fears and self-doubt engendered by a major legacy of American racism: the strong negative stereotypes about black intellectual capabilities."

### Bright spots

There are signs of hope in this dismal picture. In Cleveland a \$12 million program implemented in 1980 has reportedly raised black achievement levels considerably. Atlanta school superintendent Alonzo Crim has instituted a program entitled a "Community of Believers" that involves the city, school, parents and students in a working partnership to improve academic performance. There have been notable improvements registered. In Chicago the Chicago Parents Union (CPU), an innovative group led by community activist Nancy Jefferson, is organizing parents, teachers, churches, businesses and other interested community residents, to help boost a reverence for academic achievement among the youth. Newark, Philadelphia and New York City all have their isolated tales of success.

In addition to these attempts to make public education more effective, many have developed successful alternative models of education. Chicago's Institute of Positive Education (IPE), Newark's Chad School and Brooklyn's Uhuru Sasa network are three of the more successful, but others abound across the country. According to their various publicists, the students score disproportionately well on standardized tests.

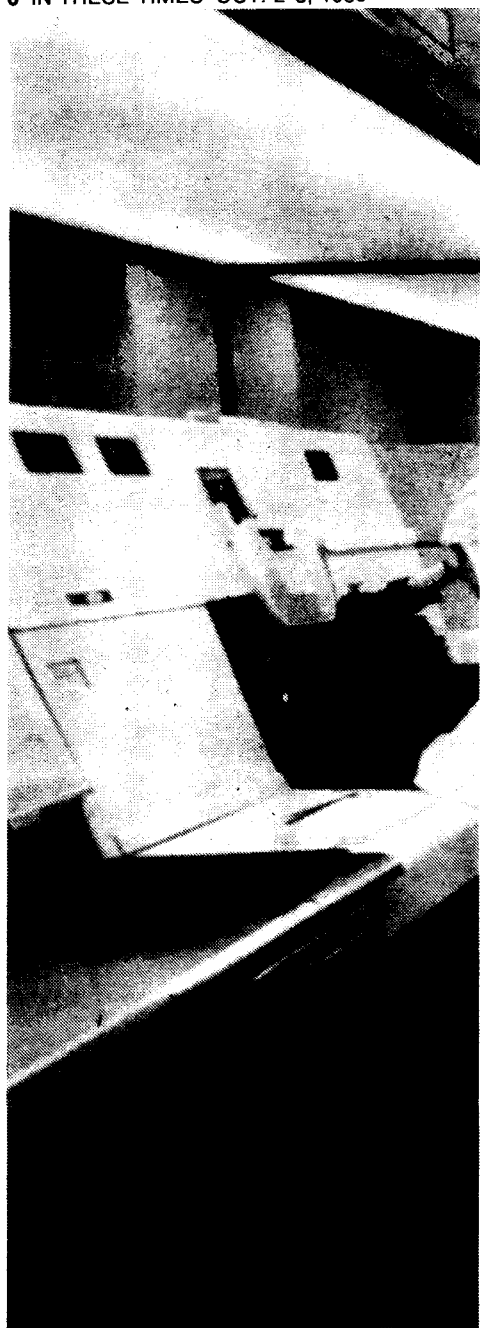
Carl Campbell Brigham created the Scholastic Aptitude Test to help "eliminate the defective strains in the present population," according to a study by writer David Owen. "By carefully sampling the mental power of the nation's young people," Owen writes, Brigham thought "it would be possible to identify and reward those citizens whose racial inheritance had granted them what Brigham believed to be a superior intellectual endowment."

Owen argues that Brigham's theories likely played an instrumental role in the passage of the heavily restrictive Immigration Act of 1924. He notes the history of such examinations, pointing out that standardized tests were often created for political motives. "The SAT would be the cornerstone of a new American social order—the aristocracy of aptitude, the meritocracy," Owen writes about Brigham's intentions. "The exclusion of blacks and other unfortunates was taken for granted."

Stephen Jay Gould, a biologist and author, argues that "the assumption that intelligence can be measured as a single number is just a 20th century version of craniometry." Craniometry was a 19th century "science" that claimed a person's intelligence could be determined by measuring his or her head. Research into standardized testing is now one of the most active areas of interest. Several major studies are probing the intricacies of the Stanford-Binet (so-called IQ) test, the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale test (two, so-called IQ tests) as well as the SAT.

Although no major findings have resulted from this furious research activity, some tentative conclusions are beginning to emerge, most of them offer warnings about our society's increasing reliance on standardized testing to compute ability. ■





This is the first of a three-part series on Silicon Valley.

By Joan Walsh

SAN JOSE

**W**ITH THE WORST SLUMP IN American electronics history as a backdrop, the melodramatic leadership struggle within Apple Computer that led to co-founder and chair Steven Jobs' departure on September 17 provided a useful microcosm of Silicon Valley's current troubles—as well as its predicted resilience.

Jobs was a 21-year-old college dropout in 1976 when he launched what would become the personal computing industry's trailblazer in a garage with high-school chum Steve Wozniak. Veterans of the counter-culturish Homebrew Computer Club—the pair got notoriety for making devices for “free” long-distance phone calls—Jobs and Wozniak came to personify the iconoclastic entrepreneurialism associated with Silicon Valley. Wozniak had the technical edge on his partner, but Jobs attracted both venture capitalists and computer buyers with his messianic belief that a good product could create its own market. That conviction was infectious and profitable—for a time.

But Apple's trajectory has taken a downward curve of late, in large measure because of competition from monolithic IBM, which watched the proliferating personal computer industry and dove in with a market plan and corporate resources that assured its dominance. Apple's profits declined, and the company reorganized. President John Sculley, the marketing genius Jobs recruited from PepsiCo, pushed through a consolidation of product line, market projections and workforce—the company laid off a fifth of its workers—that Jobs opposed, and the founder found himself kicked upstairs, obsolete at 30.

The story's final chapter is perfect Silicon Valley myth: Jobs resigned to launch a new venture, Next, Inc., reportedly to produce powerful desktop personal computers using the latest high-speed technology for university use—and he plans to take top Apple designers with him. He is exasperated by Apple's lawsuit challenging his plans, telling reporters, “If this hadn't

happened before, how could there ever have been a Silicon Valley?”

Whether or not Jobs' new venture succeeds—industry analysts are skeptical—it exemplifies why the present hi-tech slump is still considered just a downturn, not a crash, by observers both in the industry and the Silicon Valley community. While established companies big and small are laying off workers by the thousands, new firms are starting up each week, indicating that the Valley will continue to be on the leading edge of the electronics industry evolution. But it is also clear that the industry that comes out of this slump will not be the same one that went in, and the protracted evolution is having its casualties.

### Gun shy

Labor market analyst Ricka Pirani of Santa Clara County's Employment Development Department is the unofficial pulsechecker of the Silicon Valley economy, since she has at her fingertips employment data for most of the hi-tech capital's terrain—the Valley's boundaries stretch into San Mateo, Santa Cruz and Alameda counties. Renowned for its boom-bust economic cycles, the Valley has suffered three slumps just in the last decade. Pirani, the first stop for researchers and reporters tracking the area's volatile economy, has in the current downturn cautioned against using her data as evidence of long-term trouble for the hi-tech industry.

But the continuing electronics employment decline has her puzzled. Some 7,100 electronics jobs have disappeared from Santa Clara County since the industry peaked late last year. Big layoffs at National Semiconductor, Intel and Apple accelerated the trend in June, but even in August, when no major layoffs were posted, another 1,800 jobs were lost. And more than 20,000 additional workers are affected by mandatory unpaid vacations and reduced workweeks, measures imposed by computer and semiconductor industry giants like Hewlett Packard and Advanced Micro Devices.

Although for a while the jobs-loss was limited to electronics—last May actually saw the county reach its all-time employment high—Pirani says the trend is now evident in electronics-related service businesses, from research and development firms to temporary employment agencies. “I still don't feel we're in a long-lasting,

dire situation, but I'm getting a little gun shy about making forecasts,” she says. “There may be structural changes going on.”

Such changes are certainly transforming the personal computer industry, where less-than-projected growth levels are at least partly to blame for the industry-wide decline. Following Apple's success countless would-be computer designers found willing venture capitalists to back their dreams, as personal computer market expansion has slowed—from last year's 40 percent growth to this year's projected 20 percent—many have lost their niche. The consolidation hasn't just affected fly-by-night firms, but once-promising innovators like Eagle, Osborne, Victor and Gavilan.

More failures can be expected. “There are 350 to 400 personal computer firms in this country,” says industry analyst Kenneth Lim of Dataquest. “That's about 300 too many. The majority will be gone by the end of 1987.”

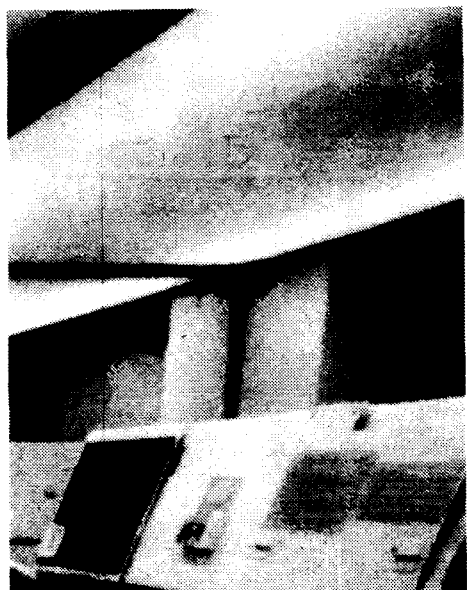
The tightening of the personal computer market has naturally affected firms that produce peripheral equipment, like software and floppy disk drives. One industry survey found that of the 15 floppy disk drive manufacturers operating in early 1984, more than half had gone out of business a year later. But the sector hardest hit by computer industry changes is the semiconductor industry, which accounts for about a quarter of the electronics jobs in Silicon Valley.

Semiconductor demand is tremendously cyclical, since the silicon chips are like oxygen to the electronics industry, crucial for every technological advance and new product line. When the personal computer market seemed infinite, semiconductor orders boomed—last year sales jumped 45 percent. To keep pace with the projected demand, a lot of firms added assembly lines and employees. Yet this year, with a projected sales drop of 20 percent, many of those lines are idle.

### Another steel industry?

The string of layoffs, plant shutdowns and pay reductions has prompted due warnings about the long-term prospects for the electronics industry. As early as last April, *Datamation* magazine quoted industry alarmists comparing their troubles to those of the steel industry, suggesting that American electronics could be facing a premature ob-

# Hi-tech



solescence. In July a *Business Week* article headlined “Those Vanishing High-Tech Jobs,” depicted an industry so depressed an autoworker might feel secure by comparison. In the scenarios of doom the culprits ranged from venture capitalists who leapt before they looked into the crowded PC market, to the corporate arrival of IBM, to unfair Japanese semiconductor competition.

Yet while layoffs continue, most analysts continue to insist that electronics is a healthy industry. “Short of something really disastrous, this is not going to look like the steel industry,” says economist Richard Carlson of Palo Alto's QED Corp. “The overall [employment] totals continue to look good.”

Lenny Siegel, director of the Pacific Studies Center and editor of *Global Electronics*, agrees. “There will continue to be



employment based on overoptimistic market projections, will have to level out, according to Adler.

Everyone agrees that the victims of that leveling-out process are sure to be the lowest-paid production workers. Despite projections for continued manufacturing in the Valley, it's clear that certain kinds of low-skill jobs are disappearing, whether because of automation or offshore production.

"If you're an electronics engineer with a capacity beyond semiconductors, you're in good shape," says Ricka Pirani. "If you're a wafer fab operator, you're going to continue to have a real difficult time, even with experience." And Pirani's office can't even track the estimated 10,000 workers doing home assembly for the valley's subcontractors—most are minority women, Hispanic, Filipina or Asian, many working illegally.

Future assembly work "will be at a much higher level," Carlson predicts, "and the jobs that are being lost tend to be lower level jobs." One piece of evidence for that trend is the decline in the Hispanic percentage of the Silicon Valley workforce. Hispanics, who tend to be clustered in the low-wage sectors, have dropped from 14 percent of the workforce in 1980 to 9 percent in 1984, according to a study Carlson did with the *San Jose Mercury News*. Carlson sees signs that Hispanics may be leaving the Valley altogether, judging from declines in enrollment of Spanish-speaking students in several area school districts.

"The bottom line is there's a group of employees who aren't going to have jobs here in a couple of years," says Barbara Lane. "And they need retraining, or they're going to have to follow others out of the Valley."

#### No miracles

Forecasting hi-tech's long-term health doesn't mean the industry will miraculously correct its propensity for fast-buck entrepreneurialism and destructive boom-bust cycles. Some hi-tech leaders frankly wish for a new marketbusting product, like videogames and personal computers in the past, that would send electronics into another round of giddy growth—which could only result in another shakeout.

Even if the industry continues its current sober consolidation, its health only ensures it will continue to employ similar numbers of people. That's good news in Silicon Valley, but it could be bad news elsewhere, Siegel says. "Jobs will stay here, but hi-tech will put other workers out of jobs."

"The real hi-tech crisis is its lack of integration with the rest of the economy," says Rick Gordon, a UC Santa Cruz professor who heads the Silicon Valley Research group there. In the current slump, computer and semiconductor manufacturers have seen their markets decline "because they're not looking at the markets that are really there. They ignored the business and factory markets they didn't know how to reach."

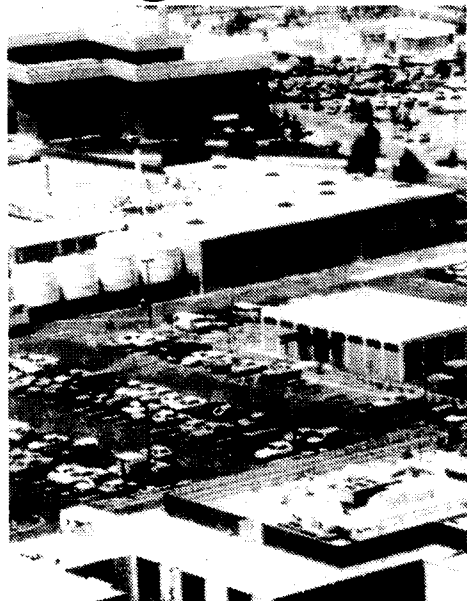
Reaching those markets can put people out of work, considering the way automation is usually approached in this country. Or it could be used to boost national employment by rebuilding declining industries. "The key is using hi-tech to put people back to work in auto and steel manufacturing, not looking to hi-tech to provide jobs itself," Gordon says.

But for now the industry shows no signs of such an overview, nor a willingness to let outsiders—particularly government—provide one. For most hi-tech leaders the government's proper role is to provide tax breaks and trade barriers against the Japanese. At a recent state legislature hearing on electronics manufacturing woes, the *San Jose Mercury News* reported, a Hewlett Packard executive warned against a government-directed industrial policy. "The best thing government can do is get out of the way and let free enterprise work."

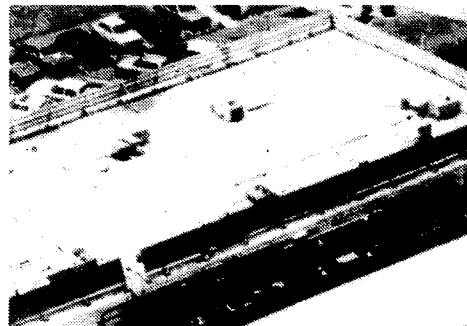
Responded State Sen. Alfred Alquist (D-San Jose): "We're often told to keep our hands off. Industry only comes to us when it's in trouble, like now."

Research assistance by Bill Kransdorf  
In two weeks: Occupational health in the Valley.

# shak edo wn



## DOWN IN THE VALLEY



them. "Now everybody's trying to move toward niche marketing," says Dataquest's Lim. That's prompting some joint efforts between computer, component and software producers to design whole systems for specific applications, Carlson says, pointing to a recent cooperative agreement between semiconductor giant Intel and Lotus, the software maker.

As long as established companies are making dramatic changes in their product and marketing approaches, and new ones are seeking their market niche, Silicon Valley is the place to be. A few years ago, with average home prices topping \$125,000 and some of the worst traffic and congestion problems in the country, some business observers were predicting the Valley's decline. A few large companies, including Advanced Micro Devices, Signetics and Intel, did expand in places like Albuquerque and San Antonio. But they maintained operations here as well, as new firms continue to spring up, attracted to the competitive hi-tech climate, business support services and pool of skilled labor.

Even production jobs, once expected to disappear "offshore" to cheap Third World labor markets, are holding fairly stable. Publicized shifts by Atari, Seagate, Qume and Tandon didn't foreshadow a mass production migration. "This is an immature industry, and it needs production near research and development, to control it," says the Pacific Studies Center's Siegel.

Or as Stephen Cohen, co-director of the Berkeley Roundtable of the International Economy, told a local paper, "Research and development is not just new products, it's new ways of producing. You've got to design the product and the production process together."

#### An underclass

But to Barbara Lane, clinical director of Human Resource Services, a San Jose non-



profit counseling center, the long-term predictions for the Valley aren't all that reassuring. Lane's office sees many casualties of the Valley's regular downturns—workers seeking family, personal and financial counseling to deal with the stress of layoffs and work reductions. And she thinks the current slump is only exaggerating the tensions evident in the economy even when hi-tech times are good.

Lane sees an "underclass" growing in the Valley. "The same workers are caught in the layoffs time and again—assembly workers, clerical support people," she says. "They're on a treadmill, living from paycheck to paycheck, caught between cyclical layoffs and the high cost of living here."

It's true that production worker turnover is always high—it was 51 percent in 1979 and 37 percent in 1981, according to a report on the Valley Siegel prepared for the U.S. Civil Rights Commission in 1982. Throughout hi-tech employment is incredibly volatile, says researcher Phil Shapira of the UC Department of City and Regional Planning. Studying employment data compiled by the Census Bureau last year, Shapira found that California hi-tech firms lost 177,000 jobs between 1979-84, but had a net employment gain of 145,000. "It took two new jobs to gain one job, and one out of four hi-tech workers lost jobs in that period," Shapira says.

Currently unemployment claims are up 50 percent over last year, and some 212 Valley firms are relying on a state Work-share program that pays employees on reduced workweek a small stipend. Credit problems are rising as well—the San Jose-based Consumer Credit Counselors reported 50 percent more requests for help this year, and says average family debt has jumped by a third, to \$5,800, without car or mortgage payments.

Despite the promise of long-term economic health, it's clear that the 7,100 electronics jobs lost so far this slump won't reappear anytime soon. "It's like an industry correcting itself after overexpansion," says Richard Adler of the Palo Alto-based Institute for the Future. Last year's peak



Der Spiegel

expansion in the industry, and it will take place in the Valley. The major problems here will be due to expansion, not the slump."

Carlson's positive forecast comes from tracking startup companies in the Valley, and it's in the newer firms that the long-term trends in the industry are most evident. Valley semiconductor firms producing low-cost, high-volume "commodity" chips—the major casualty of Japanese competition—"are getting out of that business," Carlson says, and suffering large losses in the process. But newer chipmakers are starting up to target the market for customized chips. Fledgling MIPS Computer Services of Mountain View is charting an industry course with its Reduced Instruction Set Computing (RISC) chips, designed for high-speed mini and microcomputers (the technology Steven Jobs' new venture will reportedly use). Even in the current slump, several new semiconductor firms are breaking ground to build facilities in the valley, Carlson says.

In the computer industry, companies are responding to the uncertain market with products geared for more specific users. Much of the industry's current trouble is blamed on computers designed without much thought to how people would use



By G. Pascal Zachary

## PORTLAND

**A**T 10:16 P.M. ON AUGUST 17, a neighbor living near this city's Lovejoy Surgicenter heard a loud pop and rushed to a window. The neighbor saw flames leaping over the clinic's east wall and called the fire department. But before firefighters arrived, another neighbor had doused the fire with a small extinguisher. As firefighters mopped up, they quickly realized that the cause of the fire was arson. Someone had tried to burn down Lovejoy, a day surgery clinic and the single major provider of abortions in Oregon.

The fire did little physical damage to Lovejoy. In a fire department report the clinic cited damages to a part of its wall and a shrub, and valued the loss at only \$350. And since the incident occurred after hours, the day surgery facility's operations were not interrupted. "It was a feeble attempt," says Allene Klass, Lovejoy's president.

But the arson effort introduced a new, unsettling element into Portland's already simmering dispute over abortion. "It really woke people up," adds Klass. The attempted arson is the latest in a series of physical attacks on abortion-related facilities in Portland's metro area dating back to mid-July. Since then, the Portland Feminist Women's Health Center has seen its phone lines cut, blocking most incoming calls for five hours; its electricity tampered with, causing a loss of some power for 30 minutes; and its windows smashed. Meanwhile, Planned Parenthood Association Inc., whose office performs no abortions, has had its front doors broken. All the incidents occurred when these facilities were closed. "The reality is that we're under siege," says Joan Binninger, education director of Planned Parenthood Association Inc.

Portland, however, isn't the only city that has seen a recent rise in attacks on clinics, day surgery centers and hospitals that perform abortions. In the first five months of 1985, the Washington, D.C.-

## PORTLAND

# Attacks on abortion clinics fuel community tensions

based National Abortion Federation, a pro-choice health trade group, reported seven instances of bombings, arsons and attempted arsons against abortion facilities in California, Illinois, Ohio, Texas, Louisiana and the District of Columbia. In 1984, meanwhile, the group recorded a total of 29 such attacks or attempts on clinics, a number equal to those recorded for the previous seven years.

In Portland, the vandalism incidents, which remain unsolved, have occurred against a backdrop of increasing anti-abortion militancy. "Clients are increasingly physically blocked from entering our facility or verbally abused on their way in," says one of the feminist clinic's security officers. "The demonstrators are trying to create a climate of fear and intimidation."

At Lovejoy, the protesters are close to succeeding—and threaten to turn a boutique-filled neighborhood into a battleground. In what police say has become an almost routine Saturday event, Lovejoy Surgicenter supporters and anti-abortion protesters trade insults outside the center. A core group of frequent protesters begin the demonstration around daybreak by shouting slogans from across the street and reading from the Bible. Below a Lovejoy window butting up against a sidewalk, a cluster of anti-abortionists sing hymns. Though the demonstrators claim that they are victims of harassment themselves, one police officer describes "some of the tactics used" by protesters as "questionable."

Besides street confrontations at Lovejoy and the feminist clinic, some abortion opponents, loosely organized around a Port-

land group called Advocates for Life, plan to support efforts at "street counseling" against abortion by opening a counseling center within a block of Lovejoy Surgicenter. The planned center's name is Lovejoy Problem Pregnancy Center. Andrew Burnett, a founder of Advocates and a member of the planned center's steering committee, says that the aim of the office isn't "specifically to disrupt Lovejoy" Surgicenter.

Pro-choicers link the recent surge in both harassment and vandalism to a July 13 visit from Chicago-based abortion opponent Joseph Scheidler. He recently published a book detailing scores of ways to close day surgery centers or clinics that perform abortions, and he crosses the country advising such local anti-abortion groups as Advocates on tactics and strategy.

Prochoice activists also believe that the national prominence of staunchly pro-choice Sen. Bob Packwood (R-OR)—who is the target of a national attempt by anti-abortion groups to unseat him next election—has fueled recent protests. And while they hesitate to blame anti-abortion protesters for the recent vandalism, they contend that increasingly disruptive tactics used by demonstrators—for example, a man was recently arrested outside of Lovejoy for using a bullhorn during a protest—have encouraged vandals.

Portland anti-abortionists disavow violence and insist that they played no role in the recent vandalism, yet some show sympathy toward the vandals. Burnett, who says the eight-month-old Advocates for Life has 600 supporters on its mailing list, opposes "the destruction of property" and

thinks that vandalism does his cause more harm than good. But, he admits, "I don't get all upset when (an abortion clinic) gets burned down."

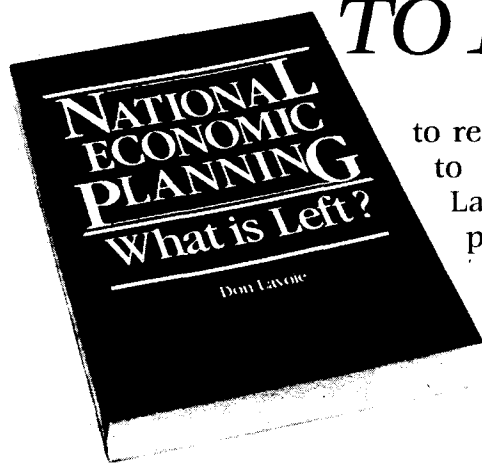
Oregon Right-to-Life, meanwhile, recently split with the national Right-to-Life organization, which officially "condemns" violence against abortion providers. After six months of internal debate, the board of the state group voted in late July to "oppose" acts of violence, but not condemn those who carry them out.

Though usually contained among themselves, confrontations between pro-choice and anti-abortion supporters are beginning to draw in noncombatants, such as Portland City Commissioner Mike Lindberg, who is concerned about the side effects of the almost weekly demonstrations. On September 9 a member of his staff asked the city attorney's office to draft a proposed ordinance that would form a quiet zone around city medical facilities, including those performing abortions. "If we draft an ordinance, it should be as narrowly tailored as possible," says Steve Lowenstein, Lindberg's executive assistant. According to the National Abortion Federation, Dallas recently passed a similar ordinance and San Diego has one under study. Although attorneys agree that such a measure may be constitutional, they predict potential problems if its language is too broad. "It can be done," observes Rex Armstrong, a Portland attorney specializing in free speech issues, "but it must be written carefully to eliminate (free speech) objections."

Yet even if an ordinance passes the constitutional test, it may do little to limit noise around abortion facilities—or the harassment. An official at the feminist clinic hopes the ordinance would create a buffer around the facility allowing clients to avoid a face-to-face meeting with opponents. Burnett, while conceding that an ordinance could be written within free speech guidelines, says Advocates for Life supporters would oppose it nevertheless.

G. Pascal Zachary is the managing editor of the *Willamette Week*.

## A SWEEPING CHALLENGE TO RADICALS



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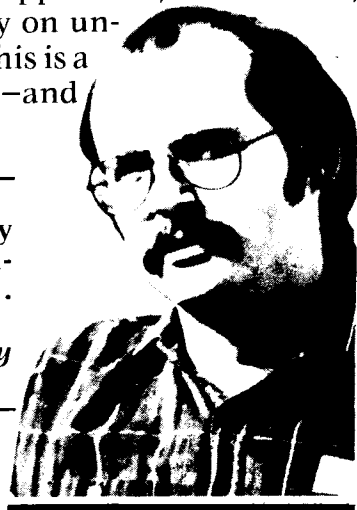
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By Geoffrey Aronson

WASHINGTON

**U**S. ARMS SUPPLY POLICY TOWARD two main Mideast allies—Jordan and Saudi Arabia—is presently in disarray. Developments in the next few weeks will determine whether the Reagan administration's almost total dependence upon arms sales as the primary tool in its Mideast diplomatic arsenal will fall victim to the administration's incompetence and congressional opposition.

Since the early '70s the Mideast has been the most lucrative market for U.S. arms merchants. Washington has many allies in the region whose friendship is cemented by generous deliveries of weapons. Israel and Egypt, which cannot afford to pay for the defense that their generals demand, together receive \$3 billion annually in military grants. Wealthier customers like Saudi Arabia pay cash for frontline weapons systems.

From 1978-82 the U.S. transferred more than \$14 billion in arms to the Mideast—50 percent more than was sold to NATO countries and more than twice as much as was sent to Asia. Israel topped the list with \$4.4 billion, followed by Saudi Arabia with \$3.5 billion, Iran with \$3.1 billion, Egypt with \$1.5 billion and Jordan with \$850 million. Arms purchased but not delivered assure that the arms pipeline will run at full capacity for years to come.

In the post-war era, arms sales to countries in the Third World have traditionally played an important role in U.S. diplomacy. More than previous administrations, however, the Reagan White House is pursuing an arms supply policy without a strategy. Beyond its ill-considered intervention in Lebanon and its open-door arms sales to Israel and its Arab antagonists, the administration has nothing to show for its five-year tenure. Today, Reagan's Mideast team finds itself in the embarrassing predicament of being at the center of a Palestinian-Jordanian peace strategy that Washington itself inspired with the Reagan plan unveiled four years ago. Yet the Reagan plan was less a framework for Israeli-Arab rapprochement than a tactical maneuver aimed at promoting the image of U.S. control over Mideast diplomacy at a time when its Lebanon policy was falling apart.

Arms sales did not save the Shah of Iran or Egypt's Anwar Sadat, nor have they brought Israeli-Palestinian peace any closer. Instead, superpower competition in the region has fueled an arms race that on more than one occasion has brought Moscow and Washington to the brink of confrontation. Yet despite these potential flashpoints for future catastrophes of the nuclear as well as the conventional varieties, Washington is adhering to an arms-supply rationale devised in the wake of the Soviet arms deal with Egypt 30 years ago.

### Congressional concern

The Middle East Arms Transfer Study is the most recent restatement of this policy. The study was commissioned in January in order to quell congressional opposition to additional multi-billion-dollar sales of top-of-the-line F-15 fighters and Sidewinder anti-aircraft missiles to Saudi Arabia and Jordan. Congress is concerned that Israel's military superiority will be eroded by such sales.

There were faint hopes that the administration would articulate a regional strategy for arms supply that would confront the contradictory objectives of current policy and also make political sense to Congress. But the classified study details the threats to the U.S., its Arab friends and Israel that are posed by Soviet and Syrian military capabilities as justification for continuing the arms bazaar approach to policy. An unclassified "executive summary" of the report released to Congress insists that the sale of arms and military equipment supports U.S. friends against external and internal threats, "raises the threshold" before U.S. intervention must be considered, "eases the deployment of U.S. forces" once a decision to intervene has been made and promotes the role of the U.S. as Arab-Israeli

# FOREIGN POLICY

## Reagan's "arms bazaar" style leaves Mideast policy in chaos



raeli peacemaker.

Yet Congress shows no inclination to be more receptive to the Saudi and Jordanian shopping lists that will be presented before it. There are moves in Congress to restrict or ban arms sales to Jordan—until it negotiates directly with Israel—and Saudi Arabia. Jordan has been trying unsuccessfully for years to purchase advanced aircraft and mobile Hawk anti-aircraft missiles. Both the Carter and Reagan administrations have fought bruising battles to assure congressional approval for the sale of F-15s and Awacs to Saudi Arabia. If both chambers vote against the sales, Reagan will have to decide whether or not to exercise his veto. If he vetoes the sale, he would likely hope that the Senate—where the administration enjoys greater support—will not be able to sustain the necessary two-thirds vote for an override.

### Contradictory policies

There are then two often contradictory arms sales policies toward pro-U.S. Arab regimes in the Mideast: the first promoted by the State and Defense Departments as well as the administration, is generous; the second advanced by Congress and particularly by the House, is hostile.

This institutional conflict has already led to a Jordanian decision to purchase limited supplies of Soviet anti-aircraft equipment. King Hussein has explained that Jordan "will look anywhere, and wherever we can get our (defense) needs we will try to secure them."

In one bold strike Saudi Arabia recently struck a much more embarrassing blow at the administration's Arab policy. In the

face of steadfast congressional opposition to further F-15 sales, Riyadh is close to signing a deal said to be worth \$3-4 billion for approximately 40 British Tornado jet fighters—a tidy sum in these days of multi-billion-dollar trade deficits. The Saudis have also apparently decided not to fund one-third of Jordan's U.S. arms purchases, making the deal even less attractive to a still-unenthusiastic Congress.

The Saudis are determined to protect their vital relationship with Washington de-

spite their decision to buy British Tornados. Nonetheless, in a region where arms sales are the litmus test of political friendship, the British sale does not auger well for administration policy.

The Tornado sale highlights the futility of unilateral arms restraint and the need to begin thinking about a Mideast arms-con-

**Arms sales did not save the Shah of Iran nor have they brought Israeli-Palestinian peace any closer. Instead they've fueled an arms race that has brought the superpowers to the brink of confrontation.**

rol strategy that includes the U.S., as well as the European producers and the Soviet Union. Congress, intent to minimize the impact of Saudi purchases on Israel, has been undone by the turn to London, which unlike previous U.S. sales has no strings attached. The Tornados will likely be permanently based at Tabuk in northwest Saudi Arabia within 100 miles of the border with Israel. The U.S. F-15s, in contrast, were sold with a proviso limiting their access to the base.

The Saudis remain interested in purchasing Sidewinders and other weapons. And with the F-15 request mooted for the time being by the British sale, the Saudi wish list should attract much less congressional opposition.

Jordan also could go the Saudi route, but that is unlikely. King Hussein needs U.S. F-20s as a symbol of U.S. support for his rapprochement with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), his strategy of negotiating an end to the conflict with Israel and his continuing hostility toward Syria. Without this tangible signal, Hussein, as well as PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat, will be hardpressed to defend their commitment to playing the American "card." No doubt Hussein made this point during his talks with Reagan in late September.

Sec. of State George Schultz remains committed to presenting Congress with the Jordanian request, which includes Bradley armored personnel carriers, Sidewinders and mobile Hawk anti-aircraft missiles. But in the face of congressional pressure, the administration has let it be known that unless Hussein makes a demonstrative gesture toward Israel, he will not get the arms he seeks. Thus President Reagan has established an alibi for yet another failure in what passes as an arms sales "policy." As with the deadlocked peace negotiations, if Congress snubs Hussein's arms request, the King will be left holding the bag.

**Geoffrey Aronson is a fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies who works on Mideast issues. He is the author of the forthcoming book titled *From Sideshow to Centerstage: U.S. Policy Toward Egypt 1946-1956* published by Lynne Rienner.**

## Arms List

**Bradley Infantry Fighting Vehicle**—the latest generation U.S.-manufactured armored personnel carrier.

**F-15 Eagle**—an air fighter that is primarily an interceptor but also has a ground attack capability; the U.S. Air Force will purchase 1,500 F-15s by the 1990s.

**F-20 Tigershark**—production of this multi-role aircraft awaits its first sale; originally conceived as an export fighter, the F-20 now depends on an order from the U.S. Air Force for its survival.

**Sidewinder**—an air-to-air missile in the arsenal of the F-15 and F-20.

**Stinger**—a shoulder-fired anti-aircraft missile. It is the main portable air defense system of the U.S. Army and Marine Corps.

**Hawk**—a surface-to-air missile (SAM) system that is the mainstay of U.S. field air defense; the system is popular throughout the Mideast with U.S. customers.



# IN THE WORLD

## PLO ambivalence imperils Accords

By Jeremy Harding

TUNIS, TUNISIA

**T**HREE YEARS HAVE PASSED SINCE the PLO evacuated Beirut and established its official headquarters here. The offices are located in a quiet, residential suburb of the capital, where time passes slowly in the oppressive heat and the streets are deserted for hours at a stretch.

But this backwater atmosphere is deceptive. Inside, the once-cumbersome bureaucracy of the PLO now functions with a low-key reliance on bare essentials. The phone lines are busy and the various desks active. The offices are a meeting place not only for PLO staffers posted in Tunis, but also for other Palestinians exiled elsewhere who are passing through.

In all PLO departments the talk centers inevitably on the recent push for dialog between Israel and the problematic Jordanian-Palestinian delegation whose composition the Israelis have challenged since the first Palestinian names were offered for consideration. All the press briefings given by Rivah Awad, officer at the PLO's information service, Wafa, begin and end on the dialog question. Other Palestinians also have monitored Assistant Secretary Richard Murphy's fitful progress recently as peace broker through the Mideast with interest.

Few PLO representatives interviewed by *In These Times* expect Israel to agree to meaningful negotiations. And they do not anticipate an overnight Jordanian-Palestinian federation to govern the occupied territories—which is the nominal objective of the current diplomatic initiative, in line with Reagan's 1982 plan. Instead, one issue predominates: formal recognition of the PLO by Washington and a bona fide place for the organization in all international Mideast peace talks. This key goal has eluded the PLO since it formed in 1964 under the auspices of the first Arab summit in Cairo, Egypt.

But de facto recognition of the PLO by the U.S. already exists, albeit in the wings of U.S. State Department diplomacy. The Saudis arranged a series of contacts between the PLO and the Carter administration in 1978, following Camp David. The safety of U.S. diplomats in Lebanon during the 1975-76 civil war was also assured by means of clandestine cooperation between Washington and the Palestinians. Cease-fires in Lebanon in 1978 and 1981 were stuck with the PLO on the basis of U.S. involvement that was direct in all but name. For the Palestinians in Tunis, the State Department's attempt to followup the Amman Accords, signed in February between Arafat and King Hussein of Jordan, is simply a continuation of what they regard as a step-by-step process toward more overt relations with Washington.

### PLO skepticism

In the political department of the PLO and the Wafa offices, Palestinians publicly reaffirm their commitment to the Amman Accords. They insist that they are in line with the conclusions of the Fez summit in 1982—which also imply the PLO's eventual willingness to recognize Israel—and they welcome the State Department's efforts to get negotiations off the ground. Privately, they have reservations about the short-term risks of the enterprise: the relinquishing of some control because of mediation of the Palestinian case by Jordan, and the possible insertion of a diplomatic wedge between the Palestinians' cause and the PLO itself.

They are also skeptical about the extent of Washington's good intentions and its capacity to count them in to any Mideast policy. Assistant Secretary Murphy's failure to see the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation over the summer reaffirmed their skepticism. This leaves the U.S., in the view of many PLO officials, without the basic understanding that the Palestinians are a vital factor in any peace process and with a fundamental inability or unwillingness to deal with this fact. The PLO attributes this largely to Israeli pressure and its supporters in the U.S. "We are waiting patiently," one Fatah member told *In These Times*, "for the day that Washington achieves independence from Israel."

In this sense loyalists share the basic misgivings of the Syrian-backed Palestinian opposition groupings, which reject any tendency by the mainstream PLO to compromise in pursuit of a political settlement.

For Tunis loyalists, the opposition's grievances express "a legitimate and just worry for all Palestinians" about the likely

*Yasir Arafat and his supporters are opposed by a Syrian-backed PLO faction.*

price to be paid for advances in the diplomatic arena. The difference, as they cautiously understate it, is in the end only a question of emphasis. In the dissident view of the Amman Accords, the cup is half empty: no genuine PLO representation on the proposed Jordanian-Palestinian delegation; no prospects for an autonomous Palestinian mini-state; no satisfactory agreement on participating nations—especially Syria and the Soviet Union—at an international conference to hammer out peace in the Mideast. For the PLO/Fatah loyalists, it is half-full: a measure of mediated PLO representation on the delegation; the prospect, in theory at least, of recovering the occupied territories under the terms of federation with Jordan; limited hopes for some type of conference.

### Keeping options open

Where does this leave the armed struggle? In the PLO information service Wafa and the political department, the message left

with journalists and other visitors is that the PLO's military options are not curtailed by the endorsement of a diplomatic settlement. It is essential, according to the PLO, for both tracks to be kept open.

By advocating both the military and diplomatic paths, Arafat's supporters hope to play down their differences with the Palestinian opposition and signal to dissident factions that the PLO/Fatah core retains its unwavering hegemony within the Organization. In holding it to be true, they acknowledge assuming Washington is acting in good faith, that its ear is pinned by the Israel lobby, that talks are likely to be fruitless if they go ahead at all, and that in the meantime, no amount of international politicking will turn events their way until the balance of forces in the region begins to change. That means preparing to apply whatever guerrilla pressure is possible given current constrictions.

In spite of the PLO's apparent impasse

*Continued on page 22*

## The U.S. position: Saying no to PLO

Officially, the U.S. has not deviated from its famous "Memorandum of Agreement" added to the Sinai II treaty between Egypt and Israel following the October War in 1973. In the memorandum, the Gerald Ford administration gave formal notice that it would not "recognize or negotiate with the PLO so long as the PLO does not recognize Israel's right to exist and does not accept Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338." That was part of Israel's reward for agreeing to further withdrawals from Sinai.

More than a decade later, that memorandum continues to haunt the PLO, whose hopes of participation in multilateral negotiations have all come to grief:

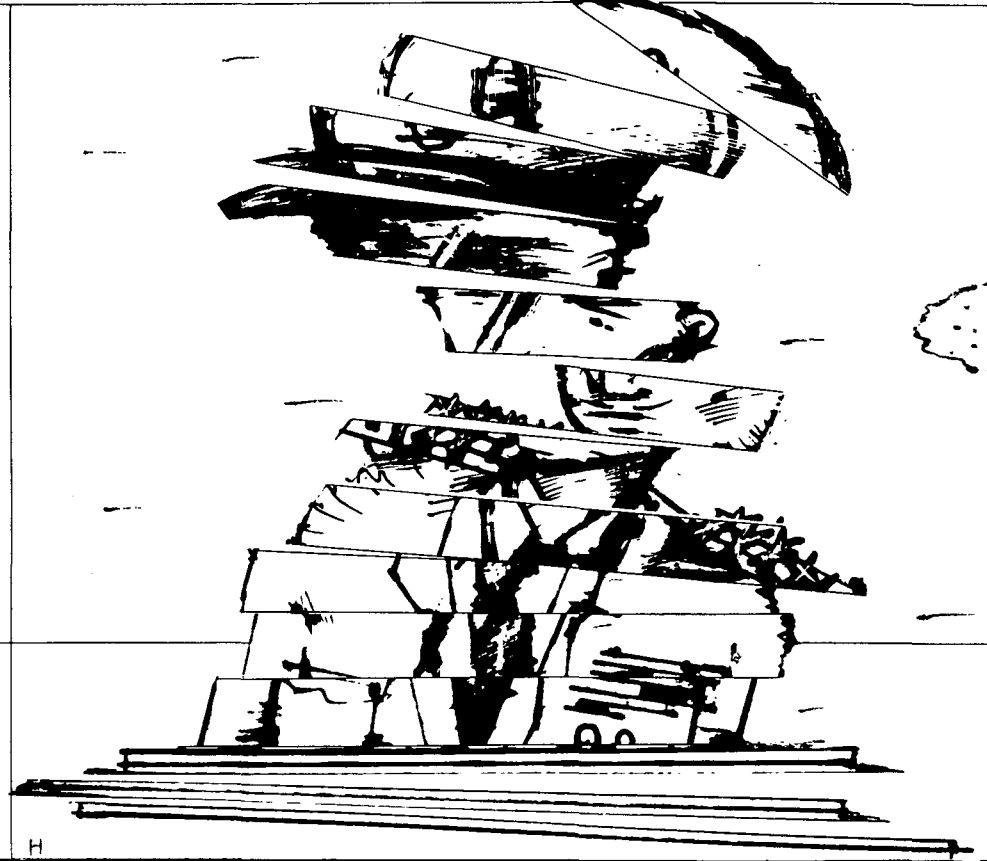
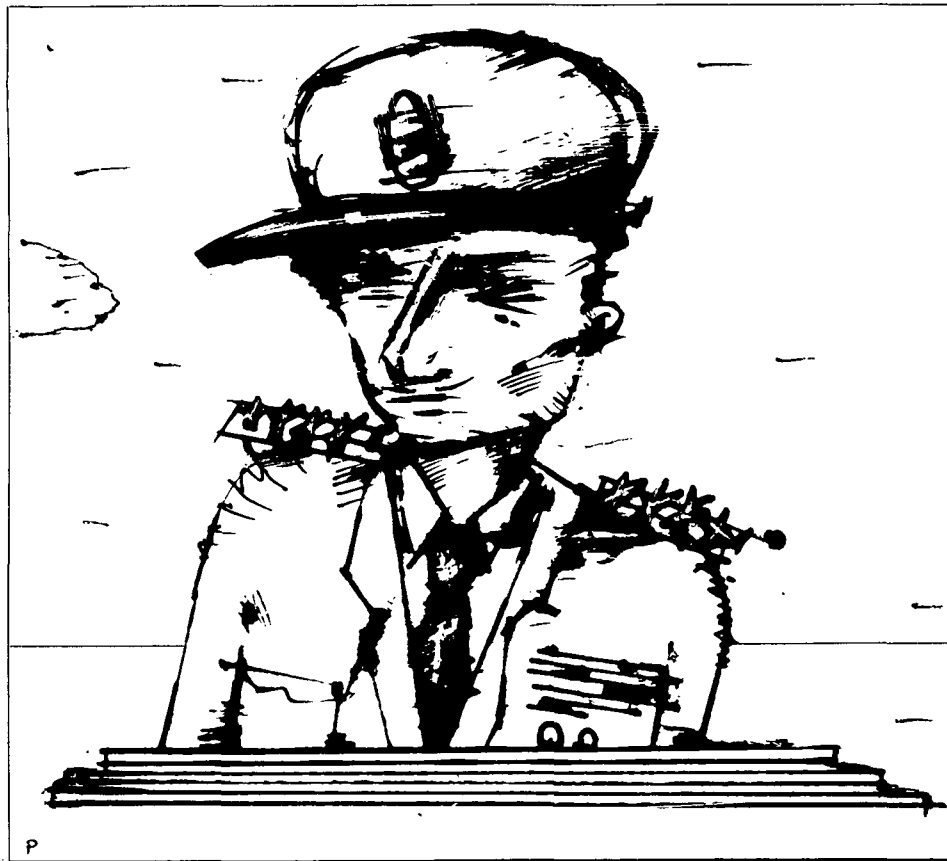
- first with Kissinger's adroit isolation of the Palestinians after the October War, in a series of bilateral deals that also undermined any hopes for Arab unity;

- then with Anwar Sadat's Jerusalem initiative in 1977, which threw a dramatic new term into play and cut away the complex efforts by the PLO in the preceding years to get to the peace table;

- most seriously with the Camp David Accords a year later, sketching a separate peace plan for Israel and Egypt independent of the agreement's provisions—nominal in any case—for settlement of the Palestinian question.







By Pat Aufderheide

BUENOS AIRES

**"S**TATE TERRORISM" AND "genocide" are terms long used by the human rights community to describe Argentina's dictatorship between 1976-83. But in mid-September state prosecutors in the nation's highest court were using those terms.

For the first time in history, an Argentine constitutional government has formally charged former government leaders with criminal acts. Nine generals from three successive juntas are on trial for multiple charges of pre-meditated homicide, with several facing life imprisonment. And the government has already negated any notion of amnesty.

The atmosphere was tense on September 11 when the trial that began April 22 opened a new phase. That day prosecutors made formal charges. At a private supreme court building, masses of soberly dressed men and women hovered attentively under the gaze of wary police. Inside, the defendants filed in, proudly wearing their uniforms. Throughout the six hours of statements fleeting smiles passed the faces of a few, but none looked at the vigilant human rights representatives in the audience.

Chief Attorney Julio Cesar Strassera called the generals' reign "the worst genocide that the short history of our young country has registered." If one excludes the total extinction of Indian groups by landowners and the military in the 19th century, Strassera is undoubtedly correct. Thirty thousand people "disappeared," and most presumably suffered torture, mutilation and death during the eight years.

An exhaustive investigation by the National Commission on the Disappearance of Persons (CONADEP) forms the basis on which the trial was launched. Only days after coming to office December 1983, President Raul Alfonsín boldly announced that the former rulers of Argentina would undergo a judicial process, and CONADEP was created. Some suggest it was a way to keep the investigation and its potentially explosive information under control. But CONADEP is itself now under pressure from eight human rights organizations, including the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo. CONADEP's probe went further than anything Alfonsín had intended. The excoriating 500-page report titled "*Nunca Mas*," is only a censored version of the classified report sent to Alfonsín, which includes a list of 1,000 names of known torturers.

On the opening day of the prosecution's accusations, lawyers recalled many case histories of terror. For example, a supposed "battle" with terrorists in 1976 was really a slaughter of 30 drugged prison inmates in reprisal for the death of a military officer. But the harm done to victims and their families, prosecutors maintained, was only part of the damage, which included grievous wounds to the body politic by a regime that violated its own constitutionality. The

## ARGENTINA

## Generals charged with genocidal acts

trial, Strassera claimed, "must serve as well to condemn the use of violence as a political instrument."

## Legacy of honor

The trial offers a forum from which to evaluate the past and begin social reconstruction. A year and a half after the arrival of democracy, the legacy of horror continues to appear in headlines. Two weeks before the trial, for example, police seized the man who is second in command of the right-wing terror organization "AAA." The 10-year-old girl raised as his daughter turned out to be the child of a woman kidnapped and murdered by the regime. She was returned to her grandmother.

Revelations like this are victorious moments for those who suffered the regimes' repression, which was aimed at the unionized working class and the petty-bourgeoisie. But such revelations make many in the middle class anxious of the degree to which they may have been inadvertently complicit in this reign of terror, extremely nervous.

The will to know is enough to sustain a weekly newspaper that publishes the trial's results. But there's also a hear-no-evil backlash among some. A land surveyor from a provincial capital told *In These Times* only blocks from a newsstand where *Nunca Mas* is sold for \$3: "I bet a lot of the disappeared are people who skipped town and are living in another country."

The prospect of the trial sent panic into the military's middle echelon. Since the generals' fall from power, they have denied any knowledge of the repression that defined their regime, thus throwing their subordinates to the wolves. But on September 11 the prosecutors treated the generals' supposed ignorance with contempt. "It is impossible to imagine," said one, "that such general insubordination [could occur], that lower-level officials [could] act contrary to their superiors' orders throughout the length and breadth of the country for years on end."

In putting the military on trial, Alfonsín seems to be winning a risky game. To his right is the military itself—the same organization whose leaders are now in the docks. And to his left are the intransigent human rights groups, most forcefully the mothers and grandmothers who carry pictures of their missing relatives into the Plaza in front of his office. Since December 1983 many previously silent groups—opposition parties, some unions and youth groups—have



President Raul Alfonsín

joined these organizations, staging massive demonstrations. Alfonsín has placated the armed forces by refusing to put anyone but heads of state on trial and by refusing to publish the torturers' names. Meanwhile, he has accommodated the left by steadfastly insisting on due process for the generals.

For many human rights activists the trial is a major victory. "It has its limits. I'm sure a lot more than nine are guilty," says David Blaustein, a legislative aide for human rights. "But three years ago, this was unimaginable. The Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo used to be jeered at in their demonstrations. At the very least the next general who hops in the tank and heads for the street is going to have to think twice."

## Outside the legal order

The generals once justified state terrorism as a response to left-wing terrorism. In their

**In putting the military on trial, President Alfonsín seems to be winning a risky game.**

trial statements prosecutors pre-empted any argument from the defense that the generals were saving Argentina from chaos and Communism. "The guerrillas captured, tortured and killed," said one prosecutor. "And what did the state do to combat them? It kidnapped, tortured and killed on an infinitely greater scale and, more serious, outside the legal order installed by the state itself."

The repression was, in fact, only in part tied to any threat of left-wing terror. The generals arrived at and stayed in power with the help of powerful rural interests intent on recapturing their grip on Argentina after decades of industrialization and unionizing had undercut their clout. Helping the rural landowners along was the man many believe should be in the dock with the generals, Economic Minister Martinez de Hoz.

Backed by the U.S. government and the best advice from Milton Friedman and the "Chicago boys," Martinez de Hoz designed a ruthless economic policy for Argentina, abolishing protectionist measures for industry in the name of the free market. This virtually destroyed small- and middle-range businesses, which could not compete with foreign imports, and simultaneously reduced the strength of the organized workforce in promoting the agricultural elite. At the same time Argentina became the darling of international bankers, but the bulk of borrowed money went into speculations and fed inflation.

Today Martinez de Hoz is one of the most hated men in Argentina that is struggling to pay the price of a few years of extravagance by a few. Although he is on trial, it is not for the damage done to the Argentine economy or for a policy that made brutal repression its enforcing arm, but for a financial shell-game he ran with the utility company.

Argentina's tentative democracy will survive the trial and sentencing of nine of the formerly most powerful men in the country, but whether it can survive the economic instability left by Martinez de Hoz's policy is an open question. The cost of living has increased about 14 times since 1980 alone. Alfonsín has given austerity a new name—the *astral*, a new currency pegged to the dollar. The measure has slowed inflation, yet it's no answer to the grave problems of how to increase production, and there's a big debt to pay. In 1977 the ratio of foreign debts to exports revenue—the raw material with which to pay the debt—was two to one. Currently, it's six to one and growing. Alfonsín has reached a stopgap accord with the IMF, but the moment of admitting that the debt, or even the interest on it, is unpayable can't be put off forever.

The nine generals face harsh prospects. General Vidella has been interned with a bleeding ulcer already. Yet however steep the penalties for the generals, they will be miniscule in comparison with the price the rest of the country has paid and will continue to pay for a savage war waged on the entire society.



By Moe Snell

**T**HE SACRED HEART CHURCH IS the highest building in Nogales, Ariz. Perched upon a low, red hill, it looks out over a desert town split down the middle by the U.S./Mexican border. The city's steeple serves as a landmark. Many, including undocumented Salvadorans and Guatemalans, use it as a beacon to guide them to those who, they have been told, will give them safe haven, comfort and food.

Mary K. Espinoza, a young mother of four, works with the poor at Sacred Heart. Her friend Maria del Socorro Pardo de Aguilar lives less than a mile away in Nogales, Sonora, Mexico. She is also a mother and a church worker. This month both women will stand trial beginning October 15 along with 10 other church workers. They are all members of what has come to be known as the Sanctuary movement and could face up to 30 years in prison for their role in assisting Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees.

This modern-day underground railroad sprang up at the beginning of the decade when increased government violence and repression forced thousands of Salvadorans and Guatemalans to flee their homes. Today the 12 church workers are only the most visible group in a loose network of religious people that numbers more than 60,000. Approximately 200 churches, synagogues and Quaker meetings declaring their places of worship as sanctuary sites.

Within the movement, women serve as the impelling force. Marilyn Chilcote, who works with the East Bay Sanctuary Covenant in Berkeley, Calif., estimates that as many as two-thirds of the sanctuary workers are women.

Sister Darlene Nicgorski, a Catholic nun and defendant in the upcoming trial, offers two possible explanations. "It may be because women have always been the mainstay of the volunteer work force in this country, or it may come from having experienced some oppression themselves so that it is easier for them to translate the refugee experience and understand it." Whatever the reason, when she speaks about sanctuary to mixed-gender groups, the women tend to be more receptive while the men invariably bring up the threat of Communism and the need to protect national borders, she says.

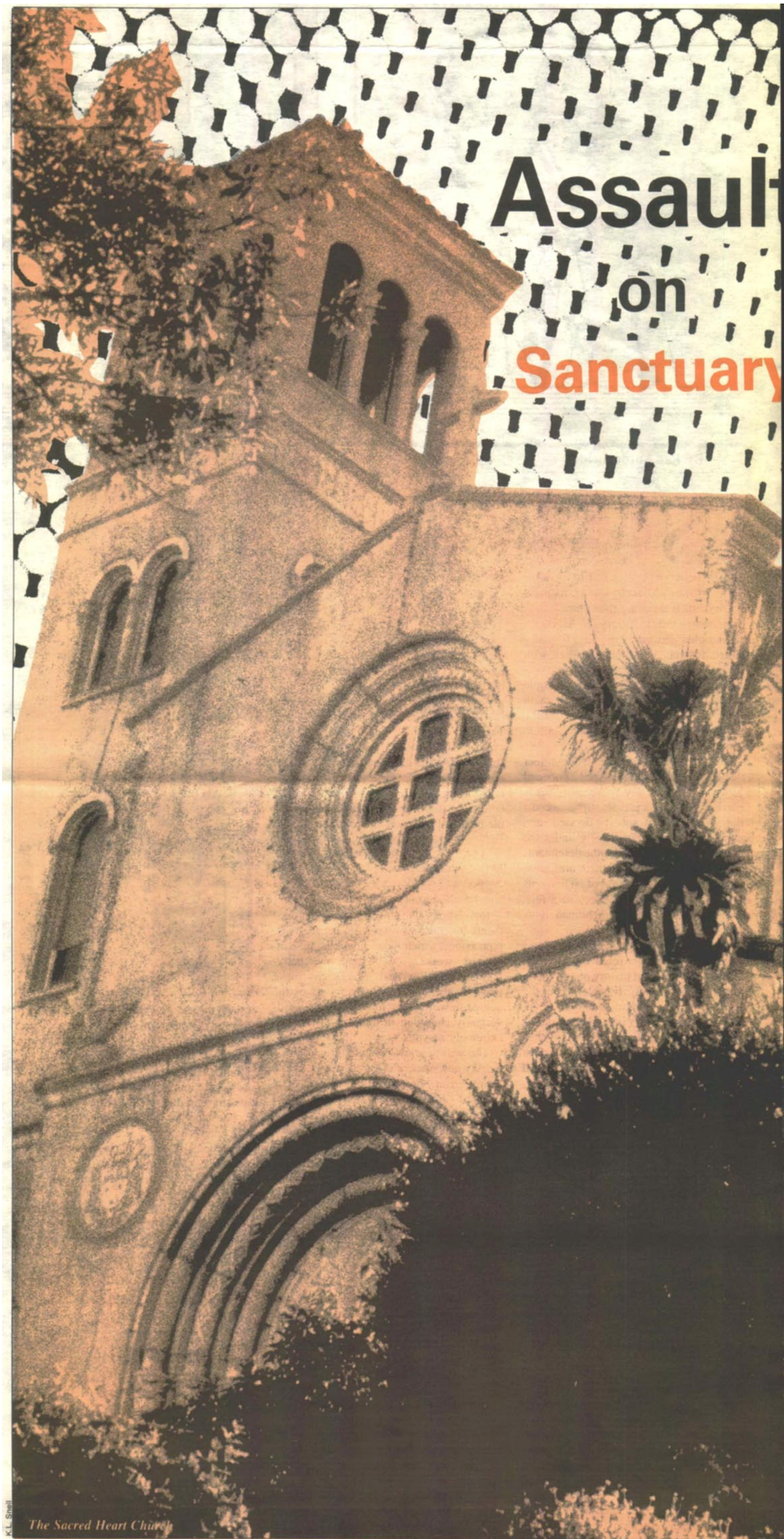
The U.S. government has charged the "Tucson 12"—dubbed this because their trial will be held in Tucson, Ariz.—with a long list of criminal acts that include helping refugees find their way across the border, transporting them to shelters and giving them advice on how best to continue their journey. They are also charged with housing, feeding and clothing the same refugees.

Their indictment signals a high-stakes gamble by the Reagan administration. The trial will either serve effectively to put a lid on North American church involvement with Central American refugees—which is highly unlikely—or it will focus attention on Reagan's foreign and domestic policy with regard to Central America. Already, the indictments have drawn the ire of many God-fearing middle Americans who believe that the entire religious community—along with nuns, priests and lay church workers—is going on trial this month.

None of the defendants dispute that they have helped Central Americans. For example, Aguilar housed dozens of Guatemalans in Mexico. She bought them groceries, cooked for them, cleaned their clothes and often told them about the hole in the border fence that would let them pass undetected into the U.S. The question, which will be argued in court, is whether she and the other workers had a legal right to do so.

The State Department and the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) say that these Central Americans are illegal aliens and economic opportunists fleeing their countries' dismal economies rather than widespread repression and violence. For this reason they should not be granted political asylum in the U.S.

At pre-trial hearings in May, the govern-



The Sacred Heart Church



ment asked that the defense be restricted from discussing the civil strife in El Salvador and Guatemala or from talking about how their religious beliefs obligated them to offer aid. The government also asked U.S. District Court Judge Earl Carroll to restrict discussion about any treaties or international law that bound the U.S. to protect those suffering human rights violations in other countries.

### Religious freedom

For Aguilar, the crimes were obvious and the culprit was clear. "The U.S. sends arms all over the world so that brothers will kill each other, brothers in Christ, and yet they shiver when they see a Central American person come and ask for help, for refuge from the violence," she says.

Both Aguilar and Espinoza fiercely defend their right to practice their religion. Espinoza, for example, never concerned herself with the legal ramifications of her work. Her commitment to the poor pre-dates both the sanctuary movement and the civil war in El Salvador. Growing up the daughter of the mayor of Nogales, Arizona, she saw her father work to help not only those people from the Arizona side of the border but also the people from Mexico. Today, at Sacred Heart Church, it seems only natural for her to administer to the poor and hungry of every race, creed and nationality.

"What am I supposed to do?" she asks. "If they are hungry, I feed them. If they are tired, I give them a place to stay. I don't ask for their papers before I help them."

The fact that the government has asked the court to exclude the religious defense infuriates Espinoza. She notes that every court in the country makes a witness swear on the Holy Bible before they are allowed to take the stand to testify. She says that if they won't let her discuss how her religious beliefs impelled her to give aid to the refugees, she will refuse to swear on the Bible since she would be lying.

Aguilar, whose 60 years has not softened her temper, is more pointed. "The judge just wants to shut us up. We are all Christians. Nobody made money for what we did. We did it because we are Christians and if the U.S. were just in its laws, they would not have to fabricate delinquents."

To gather evidence against the dozen "delinquents," the government engaged in such unsavory activities as sending paid informers with hidden recording devices into homes, church services and bible study groups. They also spent four hours in Sister Nicgorski's apartment videotaping such incriminating pieces of evidence as the poster on her wall that reads, "Dump the Dinosaur, Reagan—Vote Democrat in '84" and her passport, which was stamped during her travels to Honduras, Guatemala and Nicaragua. In the resultant 20-minute tape the prosecution will use at trial, these pieces of Nicgorski's property are prominently displayed while the religious shrine, a quite conspicuous part of her living room, is not shown at all.

In addition to the religious defense, attorneys for the Tucson 12 contend that they were also protected in their actions by both U.S. and international law—laws that they claim have been continually ignored or violated by the Reagan administration in its commitment to military aid over human rights.

For example, the U.S. is the only country that signed the United Nations' Protocol on Refugees but deports Salvadorans and Guatemalans. There is also the Geneva Conventions, which puts a civilian's right to protection during armed conflict as one of its paramount provisions, and the 1980 Refugee Act, which states that anyone who has a well-founded fear of persecution in their homeland has a right to asylum.

As it stands now, almost all Salvadorans and Guatemalans who are caught within U.S. borders are deported. If this is the case, some might wonder why more refugees don't voluntarily go to the INS to apply for asylum. The answer is simple, according to Carol Wolchok, director of the American Civil Liberties Union's Asylum Project. "There are grave risks of

exposing yourself to the INS and the refugees know it." At deportation hearings, it doesn't matter whether refugees were caught or whether they came into the INS voluntarily. Either way, the reality is grim. The INS grants less than two out of every 100 Salvadoran asylum applications heard, and the numbers are even less for Guatemalans.

### "Almost borders on the frivolous"

Wolchok is presently appealing an asylum case for a client named Anna (a pseudonym). In 1984 the 20-year-old Salvadoran native was visiting her relatives in a nearby village. While there a death squad came to extort money from her uncle, who was the chairman of a peasant farm co-operative. When they had taken what they wanted, they left—but later returned, broke down the door and dragged her uncle out-side.

She and three female cousins were forced to watch as the soldiers peeled her uncle's skin off with machetes before they mur-

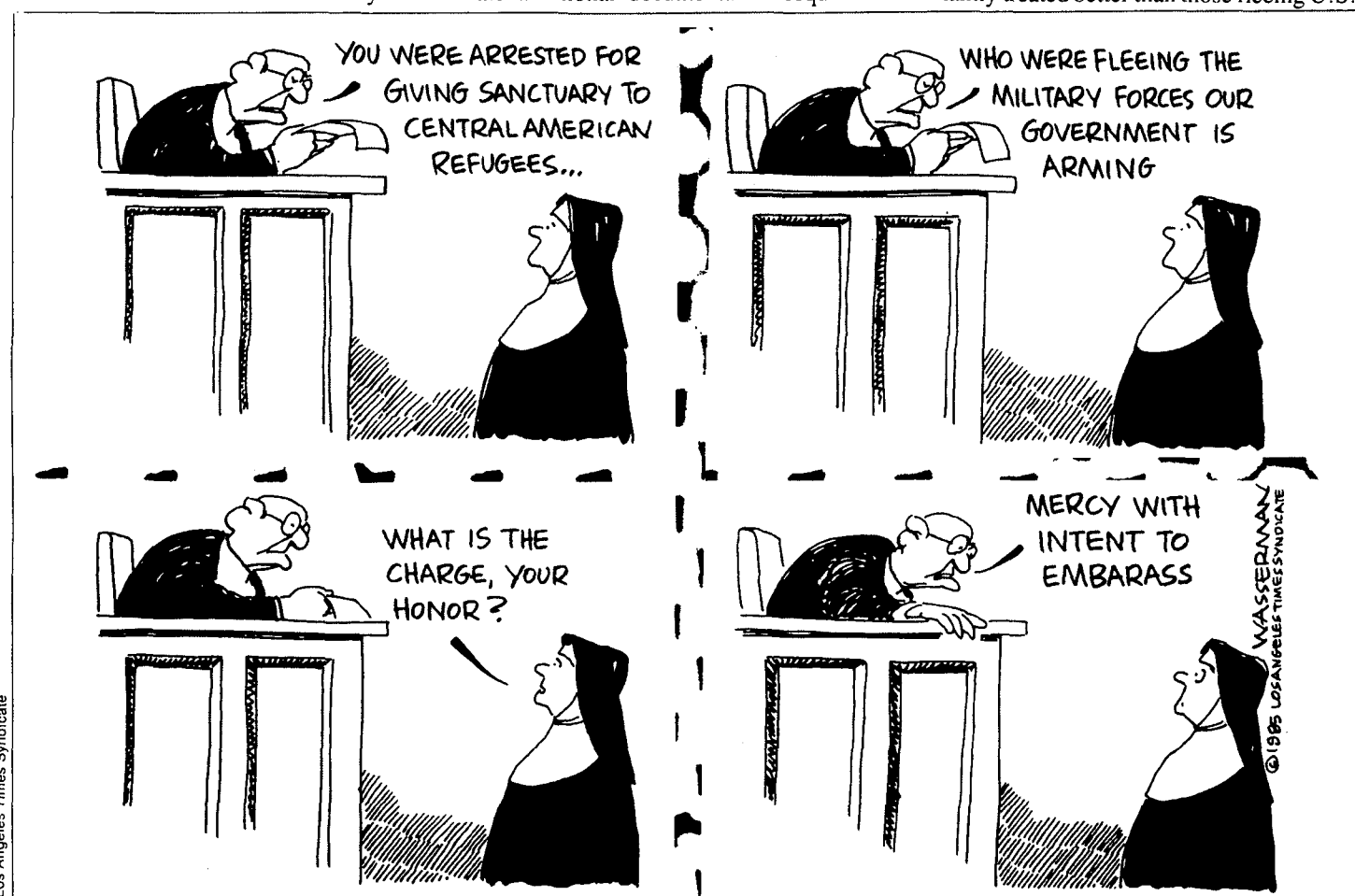
Anna's case "almost borders on the frivolous." With hearings such as this one, it is little wonder that so few Central Americans voluntarily walk into INS offices. Wolchok and Anna are still awaiting the appeal court's decision.

Wolchok, who works exclusively on asylum cases that have been denied by the lower courts, has been relatively successful in keeping her clients in the U.S. Some of her success, however, simply has been victory by default. The immigration courts are so backed up that years can pass before cases are heard, and her clients, who have been bonded out of detention centers, are temporarily free to move about while they await their hearings. But it also has to do with the fact that Wolchok frequently has at least six months between the first hearing and the appeal to gather the evidence needed to document that her clients have "well-founded" fears of persecution if they return to their country. Wolchok says that she often needs at least six months to get the additional documentation required to

The futility of applying for asylum under the 1980 Refugee Act is not lost on sanctuary workers. In fact, it is because so many Central Americans tried and failed to gain political asylum through the courts that sanctuary grew as a necessary alternative to a hostile judicial system.

### Damning statistics

But if the government gets its way, the Tucson 12's defense team will not be able to talk about the futility issue either. They have already been restricted from presenting statistics on who is and is not gaining entry into the U.S. under the 1980 Act. The statistics, of course, lend credence to the charge that political asylum decisions are intimately linked with the administration's foreign policy decisions. In 1982, for instance, asylum rates were 75.8 percent accepted from Iran, 78.2 percent from the USSR and 53 percent from Afghanistan. Those fleeing governments that the U.S. administration opposes are consistently treated better than those fleeing U.S.-



dered him along with one of her cousins. They then turned on the women, whom they beat and raped. Anna survived the attack but one of the men who had raped her and murdered her uncle tracked her down and threatened to kill her entire family if she told anyone what had happened. She had a nervous breakdown, left her family in order to protect them and went to live with her employer, who was so worried about her safety that he raised the money she needed to get out of the country and into the U.S.

prepare for trial.

Unfortunately, time is a luxury that most immigration attorneys cannot afford. One such lawyer is Graciela Zavala—who is short on time and long on clients—who works in the scorching desert of southern California's Imperial Valley to defend some 300 undocumented refugees who have been caught by the INS and now await the deportation hearings that will decide their fate. As the only free legal service lawyer available to the Salvadoran and Guatemalan men at the El Centro detention

backed governments such as El Salvador and Guatemala.

Sister Nicgorski believes that the indictments are a political move on the part of the U.S. government to silence the refugees and to keep them from reaching mainstream North Americans. "To get the support of the American people for their incursions into Central America, the [U.S.] government can't have other people telling their version of what's going on. If you can keep the wars down there faceless, blank, the suffering doesn't touch us. But these Central Americans that are coming through give face to the war, they give a human spirit to it."

The refugees also offer a critical counterbalance that damages President Reagan's assertion that military aid is the only way to save El Salvador and Guatemala from the thralls of Communism. Unfortunately, looking at everything in terms of the superpower conflict is not the way to save the people of El Salvador and Guatemala, who are victimized first by poverty and the violent realities of war in their homelands, and then by the tunnel-vision, cold-warrior mentality of the U.S. government.

The Sanctuary movement is, in effect, at war with a U.S. foreign policy that has legitimized genocide in certain countries, while passionately condemning it in others. For their part, the Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees who make it into this country know that the U.S. is supplying their governments with military machinery and millions of dollars, yet still they come in search of sanctuary. Implicit in their arrival is the distinction they make between the U.S. administration in Washington and the U.S. citizens who make up and support the Sanctuary movement.

Moe Snell is the editor of *Plexus* newspaper published in the Bay Area.

This month the "Tucson 12" will stand trial for their role in assisting Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees. The outcome could define the Sanctuary movement or expose Reagan's hypocrisy.

On her first day here, she was picked up by the INS. At her deportation hearing, transcripts say, she became so "agitated" when asked to describe what had happened to her in El Salvador that she couldn't finish her testimony. She was taken to the hospital and her testimony was submitted later, in affidavit form. But the judge denied political asylum for Anna and ordered her deported, because, as the judge put it, "you can pick up the newspaper everyday and read about this same thing happening in any urban area of the U.S."

In late July, Anna's case went before the Board of Immigration Appeals. In his opening remarks, the prosecutor charged that

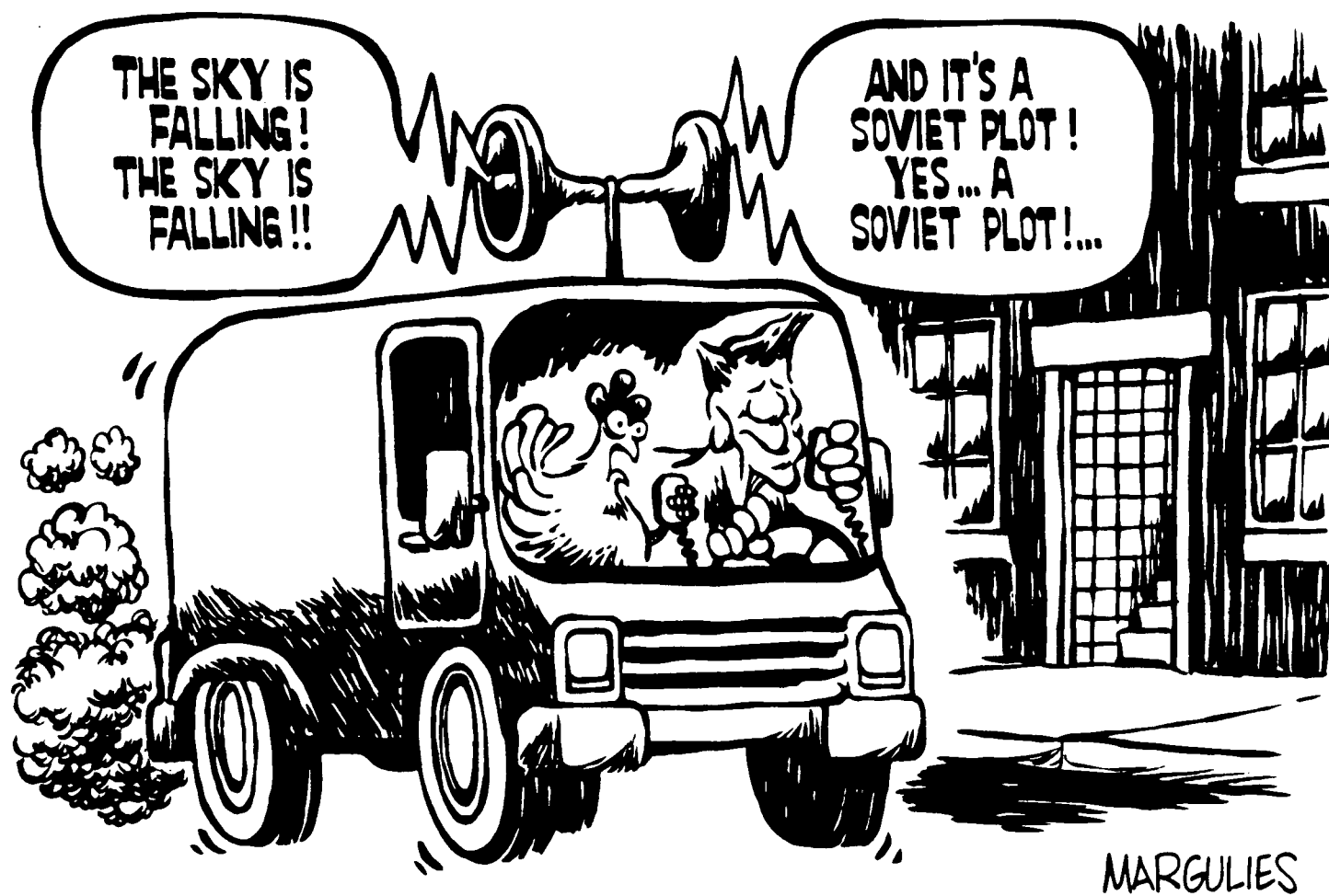
facility, her services are in great demand.

Yet the results of Zavala's hearings are no different than the results in most other immigration courts throughout the nation. In hearings that sometimes last less than an hour, refugees tell their tales of persecution, imprisonment, torture and narrow escape only to be perfunctorily denied refugee status. Zavala has worked with the Imperial Valley Immigration Project since November and in that time has had only three asylum cases granted. "The Refugee Act is on the books but it's not being applied," asserts Zavala. "In that sense due process is definitely being denied to these refugees."



## EDITORIAL

# A major positive step, but one that avoids the primary issue



We consider it a pleasure to be proven wrong when we complain that something we believe should be done is not being done. So we welcome the Illinois Nuclear Weapons Freeze letter on the following page, and we hope that our readers will support Freeze activities in support of a permanent moratorium on nuclear testing.

Our view of the Freeze movement has always been positive. We share its goals and we're grateful for the dedication and selfless activity of its members. We also share its frustration at the ease with which the Reagan administration has accelerated the arms race in the face of widespread popular awareness and fear of nuclear war—an awareness in large part created by the Freeze movement itself.

Our September 4 editorial was addressed to that frustration, both our's and the movement's, and to what we saw as one of its causes. Our point was that by elevating distrust and fear of the Soviet Union—the “source of evil” in the modern world—to a degree far out of line with reality, President Reagan has convinced many Americans that superiority of arms is the only reasonable path to peace. And we argued that the effects of the Cold War, whether the arms race or neocolonial intervention in Central America, cannot effectively be opposed without confronting the Cold War's central myth—that there is a Soviet threat to the security of the American people. But, we wrote, “Ironically, the people who have been most active in oppos-

ing the consequences of the Cold War are unwilling or unable to oppose its premise.”

The decision of the national Freeze Campaign to place the highest priority on a halt to testing this fall is an important positive step in this context, given that the administration's dismissal of the Soviet moratorium as cynical propaganda cannot survive serious examination. But this step, important as it is, does not confront the underlying political issue. And, unfortunately, leaders of the peace movement as a whole do not seem close to understanding this, much less willing to act on it. This was reported in the September issue of the magazine *Nuclear Times*, which told of a recent off-the-record meeting of leaders of peace groups in Washington. The consensus reached there on an overall approach to the November summit meeting between Reagan and Soviet Premier Mikhail Gorbachov was to “appear supportive of President Reagan but do everything possible to raise expectations of what can be accomplished.”

The reason given for this was that such an approach would be a “golden opportunity” to deal with two major problems allegedly afflicting the movement. The leaders see it as a chance to “help ease their ‘unpatriotic’ image problem by backing the president” even while putting great pressure on him to deliver an arms control breakthrough. And they also hope to “undermine the helplessness many Americans feel by stressing that ‘two men could sit down and end the arms race in just two days.’”

In our view this approach to disarmament epitomizes the peace movement's weakness. If this is their approach it is a surrender to public relations gimmickry in a context where

*Efforts to seem less ‘unpatriotic’ by backing Reagan at Geneva support the Cold War premise of U.S. militarism.*

all the PR advantages are held by the president. Far from helping the movement with its image problems, it will only make the movement more vulnerable—first because it appears to be, and in our opinion is, disingenuous, and second, because to support the president in the weeks leading up to the summit is to support his premise about the Soviet threat.

The American people cannot be frightened into supporting disarmament. When they are frightened, when they are told there is a dangerous enemy poised to attack us—whether with nuclear weapons or by taking over Europe or the Third World—they tend to support arming, not disarming. As we have pointed out before, if this were the '30s, when Hitler was the enemy and Germany was threatening all of Europe, those who are now calling for disarmament would be on the other side and those calling for more military spending would be the pacifists. That is because the question of armaments is above all political. War is an extension of politics. The hope that the American people are going to oppose Reagan's arms policy with no one in public life challenging the underlying politics of his new Cold War is, at best, unrealistic.

Appearing supportive of the president in the coming weeks won't help revive the peace movement. Sooner or later it will have to confront the myth of a Soviet threat. The longer it waits, the weaker it will become.

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STQ1

## Machel counters ‘zero-sum’

Two weeks ago we discussed the way in which Sec. of State George Shultz and Reagan administration ally Rev. Jerry Falwell have justified the president's policy of support for the Botha regime in South Africa as a defense against Soviet expansion. Shultz used the old domino theory in upholding the administration's defense of “stability”—read status quo—in the region, warning that “if South Africa falls” we will “lose” all of southern Africa.

But that same week, on September 19, the myth of Soviet control of its Third World friends was given a body blow when the president received Mozambique President Samora M. Machel at the White House. Conservatives, mindful of the fact that Machel's government had depended heavily on Soviet arms and economic aid, called Machel's visit “an insult to freedom-loving people throughout the world.” But the president wasn't deterred: “For some time now,” he said, “there has been an indication that he, who had gone so far

over to the other camp, was having second thoughts.”

And, indeed, obviously he was, in large part because the Soviet Union cannot provide the level or kinds of aid that Mozambique needs to develop more rapidly and to defend itself against South African hostility.

But no one in public life commented on what this event says about Soviet power in the Third World, or about its inability or lack of desire to keep its “puppets” and “agents” in line—or even in the fold. In fact, most Soviet gains in the Third World are a result of its being the only nation able and willing to give substantial aid to anti-colonial revolutions, all of which have unstintingly been opposed by recent American administrations. And so far, in every case where a Third World country—from Egypt to Mozambique—has wanted out of the Soviet orbit, it has simply walked out. Isn't it time that someone acknowledged this in polite society, and that we start drawing the appropriate conclusions?



## LETTERS

## Alive and kicking

**W**ITHOUT BELABORING THE INCORRECTNESS of the information conveyed in your editorial (ITT, Sept. 4) regarding the Freeze response to the Gorbachov initiative halting nuclear testing, let me set the record straight.

The unilateral Soviet action halting testing was immediately labeled by the Freeze for what it is—a window of opportunity, a sign of hope that could break the diplomatic logjam, and an obligation upon us to create a groundswell of public support to force the U.S. to join the moratorium.

Our Washington office called a press conference on the day after the Soviet announcement. Sen. Kennedy, Rep. Markey, David Cortright, director of Sane, and several local and state Freeze leaders joined Jane Gruenebaum, our national director, pointing to the historic opportunity created by the Soviet action.

The week of activities commemorating the 40th anniversary of Hiroshima-Nagasaki were used everywhere to highlight the need to stop testing. Across this country the Soviet action was hailed as a bold step creating new opportunities for us.

The Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign nationally has adopted a focus for our fall campaign that places the highest priority on a halt to testing as a first step toward a freeze. "In response to the historic opportunity presented by the Soviet moratorium on nuclear weapons testing, the Executive Committee decided at its August 22-25 meeting to focus all Campaign activity between now and December 31 on stopping U.S. nuclear explosives testing...." (August 28 letter from our Executive Director).

In Illinois we have made the halt to testing the primary focus within our Stop (arming) While We Talk program. Everywhere our communications point to the historic opportunity created by the Soviet halt to testing. We have scheduled a demonstration prior to public hearings being held on September 19 on IL H.Res. 638 calling for a halt to testing and deployment. Testimony will be presented by eminent scientists, clergy, political leaders and the Freeze Campaign backed by additional endorsements from a broad range of community and labor leaders. Illinois is helping to collect the one million signatures, which is our national goal on the petitions to Reagan and Gorbachov. We have Illinois Stop While We Talk Walks on October 12, and will be organizing Summit Sunday on November 17 to pray and press for success at the Summit, and Vigils on November 19 with the theme The World is Watching.

Our August-September State of the Freeze features Adm. Eugene Carroll's column, "A Useful Nuclear Step by Moscow," and "A Tale of Two Offers," comparing the N.Y. Times headline in 1963 when Pres. Kennedy announced the U.S. moratorium on atmospheric tests with the press response to Moscow's July roughly equivalent actions.

Our October issue headlines The Testing Moratorium—An Historic Opportunity for the Freeze Campaign and outlines the three main components of our strategy:

- education, to build public awareness of the Soviet testing moratorium and to suggest an appropriate U.S. response;
- lobbying, around legislation to cut off funds for testing so long as the Soviets do not test; and
- direct action at the Nevada Test Site to focus attention on the continued U.S. testing during the moratorium.

Granted there is much more that needs to be done by the Freeze campaign and all peace activists in combating Cold War

**In These Times** is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

anti-Soviet hysteria. But it is certainly false to portray the Freeze movement as not doing anything on this score.

**Bernice R. Bild**  
Executive Director  
Illinois Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign

## The socialist as executioner

**E**VANS HOPKINS' ARTICLE ON CAPITAL punishment (ITT, Sept. 4) represents more of the same liberal pablum against capital punishment we have been hearing for decades. As the courts and national opinion makers began to buy the '60s liberal line, national crime rates skyrocketed. Americans in the '80s have said "enough" and are insisting on getting tough on crime. About 70-75 percent of the U.S. population now supports capital punishment.

Hopkins speaks of the fact that crime is declining 3 percent per year while we are undergoing a "nationwide boom in prison construction," not seeming to realize that crime is declining because we are building prisons and putting more criminals in them than before. Studies show that as much as one-third of crime is attributable to repeat offenders who would not have been able to commit those crimes had they simply been made to serve the entire sentence for their most recent conviction instead of being given probation, suspended sentence, parole or a light sentence for the crime.

While Hopkins seems most distressed about society's "immorality" in condoning capital punishment, I detect no sympathy for the victims of violent crimes in his piece.

Incarcerating criminals at a cost of \$25,000 each year is far more expensive than executing them and diverts public funds from other things like feeding the poor and creating jobs. As such, Hopkins advocates an approach to criminal justice in the name of helping poor dispossessed blacks, which in fact diverts funds from programs to do just that, as excessive military expenditures rob the poor at the federal level.

While true that capital punishment is racially skewed in its applications, studies show that the racial skew is minimized in the states most prone to executing criminals. The studies suggest that the racial skew would be further minimized if states executed criminals more routinely. As such, the racial skew is an argument for more—not less—capital punishment (e.g., if all first-degree murderers were executed, the racial skew would be *per se* eliminated).

Violent crime occurs in all societies, socialist as well as capitalist. Nations like Saudi Arabia that are unafraid of punish-

ing murder with public beheadings have very low levels of violent crime. Society's unwillingness to punish criminals effectively is the main determinant of crime levels. Crime is *not* the fault of society, except inasmuch as society tolerates it. Unemployment, racism, psychobabble and other bugaboos are not the motive force behind crime either. Violent crime is the produce of greed and other degenerate, anti-social, hedonistic motives that stand in direct opposition to the goals of socialist society, which stresses cooperation, security and civic duty, and subordinates private gain to the public good. The hand of the socialist should be the first one on the switch of the electric chair because the kind of thug who is a candidate for execution is generally a person whose outlook is most irreconcilably repugnant to socialist society.

**Dino Joseph Drudi**  
Washington

## No tears

**N**OAM CHOMSKY WRITES GOOD ARTICLES, but I'm tired of his gratuitous attacks on the Soviet military presence in Afghanistan (ITT, July 24). The Soviets may have been wrong to intervene, but there's no reason for tears about the fierce brave freedom fighter CIA mercenary woman-enslaving bastards that are fighting them. I have heard too many lamentations by North American white males about the loss of the wonderful traditional cultures where men are men and women are slaves. I doubt those cultures were always that way; I'm no expert on how they got that way; but I'm sure shedding no tears over their demise or at least profound alteration.

**Ann Tattersall**  
Eugene, Ore.

## Bungled

**I** AM A HIGH SCHOOL TEACHER OF LATIN American history and an author of several elementary textbooks on the subject. I enthusiastically received my first copy of *In These Times* (Sept. 3) and was heartened to see so much coverage of Latin America. Teachers and curriculum writers desperately need this information which we so seldom get from the traditional media.

But upon reading Michael Tangeman's article entitled "Behind Mexico's Share of the Third World Debt" (ITT, Sept. 11), I began to wonder. Tangeman asserts that Mexico was invaded twice for failure to pay its foreign debt. True. But not as Tangeman writes. Mexico was invaded in

1861, but by French troops only. The Spanish and British withdrew without a fight. The 1914 invasion by the United States was real, but had nothing to do with foreign debt. President Wilson used the imprisonment of two U.S. soldiers as an excuse to attempt to overthrow the regime of Victoriano Huerta. But Mexico was invaded for not repaying French debts during the so-called "Pastry War" of 1838.

A more serious historical inaccuracy was committed when Tangeman claimed the Southwest states were annexed to the U.S. by terms of the 1853 Treaty of La Mesilla. Any Mexican school pupil could tell you half of their country was taken from them by the terms of the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

**Bert Bower**  
Palo Alto, Calif.

*Editor's note: We regret that we did not correct these historical errors.*

## Anti-Soviet drivel

**I**N THESE TIMES OF HATRED AND MISUNDERSTANDING between the nuclear powers, when mankind is on the brink, it is deeply disappointing to be hit over the head by a snide anti-Soviet article, "A Story of Soviet Jewish Immigrants in the Promised Land" by Polly Howells (ITT, Sept. 17).

We had assumed that we were subscribing to a left-wing publication. We get this sort of anti-Soviet drivel without let up from the capitalist press.

Please cancel our subscription and issue a refund.

**Ernest Mendez**  
Long Beach, Calif.

## Brilliant portrait

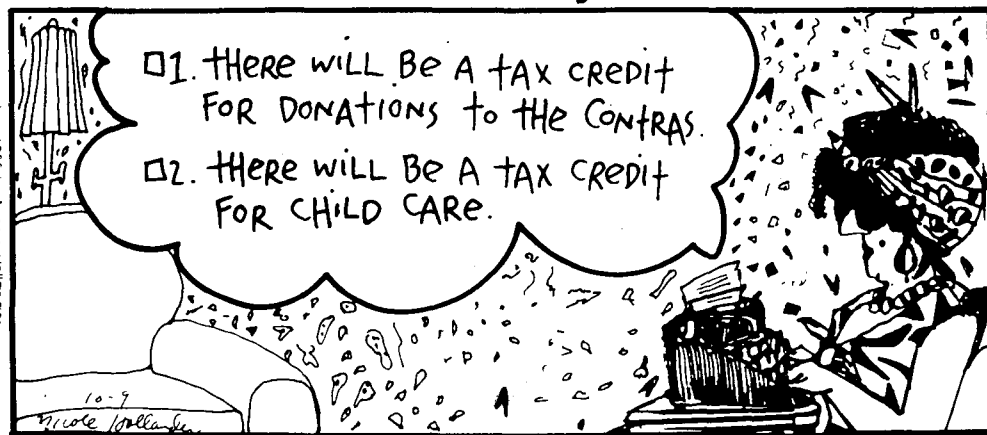
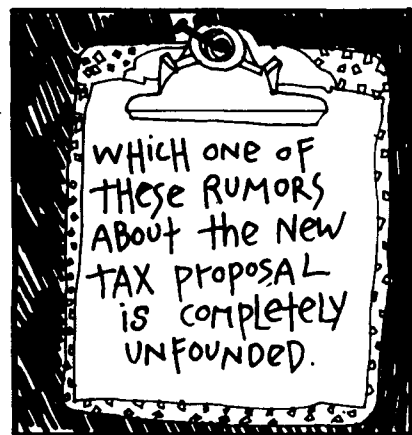
**P**OLLY HOWELLS DREW A BRILLIANT PORTRAIT of Russian Jews in New York (ITT, Sept. 17). The contradictions of both American and Soviet society seem to have created a puzzling frame of reference for these newcomers. I have several times been taken aback by the values espoused by newly arrived Russians, from taxi drivers who have asked me why I "live in a neighborhood with so many blacks" (I am white) to young Russian women chattering away on the Brighton Beach-bound subways, heavily made-up with beauty parlor hairdos, perfect manicures, ostentatious jewelry and stylish clothes. Howells' article provided tremendous insight into the confusing world they left behind, as well as the confusing one they are trying to adjust to.

**Beth Jackendoff**  
Brooklyn, NY

## Correction

In John B. Judis' *Technotrends* column (ITT, Sept. 4), a word was dropped from a sentence. It should have read: "The Macintosh excels on some fronts—like graphics and ease of use—but does not match IBM's word processing or spreadsheet capability."

## SYLVIA



by Nicole Hollander



## PERSPECTIVES

By Gary Fields

A

CCORDING TO ALEC Nove in *Economics of Feasible Socialism*, "an efficient socialist economy must be an amalgam of plan and market, centralization and decentralization, control and local initiative."

Although Nove confined his analysis to European conditions, he might have drawn inspiration from the experience of Cuba. Since 1959 Cuban planners have sought ways to combine these elements into a workable model of economic development. In the process, this island nation of 10 million has forged its own contribution to the economics of feasible socialism.

Contrary to Reagan administration reports, Cuba has achieved notable economic success. A special report released this year by the U.N. Economic Commission for Latin America revealed a 22.6 percent per capita GNP growth in Cuba for 1981-84, the highest in Latin America.

This achievement flows from four basic objectives:

1. economic growth and industrial development
2. agrarian reform and agricultural diversification
3. wealth and income redistribution from rich to poor and from urban to rural areas
4. social policy goals such as reforms in education, medical care, child care, and housing affordability.

Formulation of these priorities was conditioned by the situation in Cuba before 1959. The Island's virtual dependence on sugar production, the domination of the sugar industry by American firms, the concentration in cities of the wealth created in the countryside and the lack of economic opportunities and social services in rural areas were the main features of the pre-revolutionary economy.

As early as 1953 Fidel Castro emphasized the need to eliminate "sugar monoculture" and dependence on the U.S., as well as to redress the economic imbalance between urban and rural areas.

While these goals have remained relatively constant since the 1959 triumph of the Revolution, policies designed to achieve them have been continuously re-evaluated and modified.

From the perspective of organization, the period 1964-66 stands out as a crucial period of intense debate and testing of two alternative models.

One model, influenced by Chinese planning during the Cultural Revolution and advocated by Che Guevara, emphasized total elimination of market mechanisms and the abolition of supply and demand laws. Organizational features of the

## Cuba's up and down attempts at planning

system proposed by this group included a highly centralized planning apparatus; a rigid, hierarchical organization of state enterprises into branches of centrally-planned ministries; central financing of all state enterprises; the transfer off all enterprise profits to the state; state allocation of investment funds regardless of profitability; the elimination of mercantile relations between enterprises; a state-controlled pricing system to replace prices based on costs or supply and demand; and the gradual elimination of money.

Confronting Guevara a group of economists led by Carlos Rafael Rodriguez advocated the utilization of selected market mechanisms within the framework of a planned economy, a system modeled on economic reform in Eastern Europe and the USSR. The Cuban group endorsed central planning coupled with greater enterprise autonomy and market-oriented initiatives. These "pragmatists" advocated enterprise self-financing instead of state budgetary financing; more enterprise control over profits and losses and hence greater autonomy in making investment decisions; and the ability of enterprises to enter into relationships with other enterprises using money as a means of exchange.

From 1964-66 the two models operated in different sectors of the Cuban economy. The Guevarist system was used in the industrial sector; the reform model was utilized in agriculture and trade.

In late 1966 the Cuban leadership decided to extend the Guevarist model into the agricultural sector. Market mechanisms in agriculture were dismantled in favor of a highly centralized system of planning and requisitioning.

Underlying this decision was a new strategy for attaining the objective of diversified economic development—a strategy based upon the augmentation of agricultural exports to support both capital imports for industrial development, and the import of certain agricultural commodities for agricultural diversification. Prior to 1966 Cuba had tried to grow and diversify by taking cane fields out of production and planting them with new crops, and by trying internally to generate capital for industrial development. However, because of its historical dependence on sugar, Cuba lacked the resources to undertake such an ambitious program on its own. By 1966 the Cuban leadership acknowledged that this scheme had been

premature and unsuccessful. According to economic planners, future plans for diversification would have to be based upon the country's existing comparative advantage, sugar production.

The Guevarist model was expanded into the agricultural sector in hopes of achieving record sugar harvests for export purposes including plans for an entirely unprecedented 10-million-ton harvest by 1970. A highly rigid, centralized organizational model was seen as necessary for this goal.

Although a record harvest was achieved in 1970, it fell short of the projected target as did the harvests from 1966-69. Furthermore, mobilization of the country's resources for the sugar industry during this period depleted resources from other sectors of the economy thereby offsetting possible gains from larger sugar exports.

By 1970 the leadership acknowledged the problems created by the sugar export strategy and the centralized economic

*Despite failed planning policies and dependence on a one-crop economy, there have been great gains.*

model of the previous four years. The year 1971 marked the beginning of new economic policies based upon the organizational model rejected in 1966.

The system currently operating in Cuba is based largely upon reforms associated with market socialism enacted in 1971. In 1976, however, central planning was institutionalized in Cuba with the introduction of the country's first five-year economic plan. A second five-year plan was adopted in 1981.

While central planning remains the primary tool for directing economic activity, current practice utilizes certain market instruments such as credit, prices based on costs and supply and demand, and interest-bearing loan financing. More local autonomy has been granted to enterprises, which now have the power to hire labor and make investment decisions. Enterprises are also responsible for balancing costs and revenues.

The budgetary system of finance has also been complemented with an expanding system of self-finance in which the National Bank extends repayable low-interest loans to state enterprises, and state, cooperative and private farms. Officials at the National Bank acknowledge that the reforms have elevated the role played by the Bank in economic development.

Recent Cuban experience indicates that it is possible to balance economic growth and diversification with the social objectives of wealth redistribution and social service delivery. Nevertheless, certain problems still persist.

Despite efforts to diversify agriculture, sugar production remains the centerpiece of Cuba's economy. Under the Revolution, however, earnings from sugar are being invested in diversification efforts, whereas profits from sugar flowed out of the country prior to 1959. Successful diversification ventures in agriculture have been made in citrus fruit production and egg farming. Citrus fruits, most of which

were imported before the Revolution, are expected soon to overtake tobacco as the country's second export crop.

Cuba's sugar exports have also allowed it to import capital equipment for development of several basic industries such as steel, petroleum, and cement, perhaps the most crucial in Cuba today. Ambitious construction plans and a lack of timber have forced the Cubans to rely on concrete (and its major component, cement) as the country's primary building material.

Construction has been a principal means of extending the distribution of social services and economic opportunities into the rural areas, thereby alleviating the economic imbalances between town and country in Cuba. Construction of new industries, educational facilities, and hospitals in rural areas where unemployment, illiteracy and infant mortality were most acute has completely transformed the rural landscape.

The result of these efforts can be appreciated on the ride from Jose Marti Airport on the outskirts of Havana to the city's center. In most Latin American capitals, populations have exploded due to the influx of poverty-stricken rural migrants who establish shanty towns on the outskirts in hopes of finding employment and medical care in the city. No such phenomenon exists in Havana and the size of the City (2.1 million) has remained relatively stable for the last 25 years.

Impressive achievements in housing are coupled with the need for more work. Immediately after the Revolution rents were reduced to a maximum of 10 percent of income and converted to mortgage payments. This has resulted in the little-known fact that Cuba is a nation of homeowners. Roughly 75 percent of all Cuban families own their own homes.

But the Revolution has not met its goals in construction of new housing to replace substandard units. From 1959-80 construction of social service facilities was given higher priority than housing in the construction budget. With the social service infrastructure now firmly in place, new housing construction is scheduled to increase dramatically in the next few years.

A new housing law enacted in January represents another innovation intended to facilitate development goals, in this case an increase in new housing construction. Under provision of the law, the price of newly-constructed housing will be based on a combination of ability to pay, and square footage of the unit.

The City of Havana has also undertaken a program to rehabilitate housing stock in the old historic district. Under this system of urban renewal, residents are temporarily relocated and then allowed to reoccupy their units at the previous payment schedule. According to chief planner, Mario Coyula Cowley, "the program represents urban renewal without gentrification as in the U.S."

The evolution in Cuba's economic model reflects the ongoing efforts of Cuban planners to balance economic objectives with revolutionary social policies. The difficulties experienced by Cuba in the '60s reveal the complexity in linking economic growth to certain social goals. Organizational reforms enacted during the '70s and expanded in the '80s have provided Cubans with a basis for overcoming many of these earlier problems. Cuba will continue to face grave challenges in balancing economic growth with wealth equalization, especially in light of certain market mechanisms with which it is experimenting. Nevertheless, progress made in meeting this challenge through innovations has allowed Cuba to contribute a socialist economy theory and the practice of a feasible socialist economics.

*Gary Fields is a planner who recently visited Cuba.*

### Fast For A World Harvest

November 21, 1985



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## PERSPECTIVES

By Fred Halliday

**T**HE RECENT DISPUTE BETWEEN Moscow and Washington about alleged Soviet use of carcinogenic dust to track American diplomats in the USSR illustrates with great clarity one of the central themes of the current cold war. This is both sides' determination to use information and news management, not to get at the truth, but to take advantage of the media's thirst for spectacular news stories as a way of scoring points against the other side. That the Soviet Union has an interest in managing the news in this way is obvious enough. Its own press is tightly controlled and it is easy for it to manage what outsiders and its own citizens know about events within the USSR. Even high officials in the Soviet state know less about major issues of international importance, especially ones relating to military matters, than do interested readers of public material in the west.

But when it comes to international news media, the Soviet Union is at a great disadvantage. The major news agencies are controlled by western firms. In much of the world Soviet press and radio output lacks credibility, or appeal. The U.S. by contrast has access to much of the world's population through press, radio and TV. As much as the diffusion of the American way through pop music, films and TV series, this is an instrument in the overall conflict with the Soviet Union. And it is in an area where, in recent years, American officials have gone all-out in spreading stories that fit their policies. The fact that many of these stories are misleading and angled for propaganda has done nothing to prevent the practice from continuing or to stop news-hungry and gullible editors from playing along.

The current cold war gathered force in the late '70s on the basis of two such widely-disseminated stories. One was that the USSR was by then militarily superior to the U.S. The conclusion Reagan drew, and that he persuaded the American electorate to accept, was that America had become weak and had to rearm. This, as independent observers knew, was absolute nonsense. U.S. and NATO forces remained superior to the USSR throughout the period, both in nuclear, conventional and technical capabilities.

Similarly, it was alleged that the USSR had violated detente by stimulating revolution in the Third World. Revolution in the Third World there was, from 1974 to 1980, in Vietnam, Iran, Ethiopia, Angola and Nicaragua, to name but some of the countries affected. But no evidence was ever produced to show how the USSR had been active in bringing these about.

Academics, journalists and policy-makers droned on about Soviet 'misconduct' in the Third World. It was myth, but myth that held. With the full onslaught of the second cold war, beginning with Reagan's access to the White House in 1981, the disinformation men have come into their own.

### The great dust caper

Take the Moscow cancer-drug story. At first, it was splashed across every newspaper in the west: KGB agents had sprinkled the dust, nitro-phenyl pentadien, in places where American diplomats in Moscow would carry it about. Unbeknown to them, the diplomats and their families ran an increased risk of cancer. For days, the story ran. Espionage and dirty tricks experts held forth. Then, the story ebbed. The scientist who invented the drug revealed that it was probably less dangerous than a cup of coffee. The team of experts sent to Moscow by the U.S. government to investigate reported that no serious



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## Managing the news in the East and West

health risk was involved. It was all a mistake: but it did not matter, the damage had been done.

An earlier version of the same practice can be seen in the case of alleged KGB support for the assassination attempt on the Pope in 1981. For months and months experts and journalists revealed how the attempted assassin, Mehmet Ali Agca, had been sent out to perform his action by the Bulgarian secret police, themselves acting for the KGB. A U.S. journalist resident in Rome, Claire Sterling, and a U.S. government official formerly in charge of CIA operations in Turkey and Ethiopia, Paul Henze, played especially prominent roles in this campaign. Yet, with time, the credibility of the Agca-KGB connection was weakened (*ITT*, June 26). It turned out that Agca was a fantasist and liar, who contradicted himself time and again. On more than one occasion he was shown to be saying whatever he judged his listeners wanted to hear. Later, it was revealed that Agca only came out with his detailed account of meeting with Soviet bloc agents after he had been visited in prison by officials of western intelligence, and so was liable to be repeating what they told him. With an increasingly exasperated Italian judiciary and press doubting his every word, Agca's story has fallen to pieces.

But it does not matter. The story has run for months and months and done immense damage to the Soviet Union's image.

By far the most serious of these twisted news stories concerns the shooting down of the Korean airliner, KAL 007 on September 1, 1983. This civilian flight was shot down by Soviet planes over the Kamchatka Peninsula. It had strayed far from its course and had ignored Soviet signals for it to land. The immediate response of the western media, and of the U.S. government, was to charge the USSR with cold-blooded murder. The plane had made an innocent mistake, and the brutal Russians had killed 269 people. No event in this cold war has so shocked public opinion in the west.

Only later did serious problems with this western story begin to emerge. No one knows whether the plane deliberately flew over Soviet territory. The least that can be said is that flights to probe Soviet air defense and radar systems by the airlines of American allies were common. What can be shown is that U.S. surveillance and air traffic control systems must

have known well in advance that the plane was off course, and did nothing to alert it. Moreover, the plane was giving false information to ground control in Tokyo on its height and speed. Even more suspicious are circumstances surrounding the data surviving the crash: the black box, recovered from the sea, was never publicly examined, and air traffic tapes routinely made by the U.S. air force were destroyed immediately afterwards. The whole basis of the western case, and of the report by the International Civil Aviation Organization, ICAO, has been thrown into question.

### Long-range campaigns

Such treatment of particular news stories is only one part of this cold war news management. Equally important are longer-running campaigns about issues deemed damaging to the USSR, and where the support or credulousness of western public opinion are desired. The

Unlike the Soviets, the U.S. has access to much of the world's population through the press and TV. It has used this to great advantage in falsifying news.

Reagan Administration started off its term in office in 1981 with a blast at Nicaragua, claiming that it was arming guerrillas in El Salvador on a substantial scale. Since then, there has been a torrent of stories designed to blacken the Sandinista regime—that it is committing genocide against the Miskito Indians, that it is harboring PLO and Iranian "terrorists," that it plans to invade its neighbors. No doubt agile young men in Washington roll back to their offices after six-martini lunches and wonder what outrage they can throw at the Nicaraguans that day. In fact, all

these stories have been fabrications, and many have been discredited by Reagan administration officials.

Another country against whom the news machine has been directed continuously during this cold war has been Afghanistan. That there is a terrible war, involving great suffering and loss of life, taking place in Afghanistan, no one can deny. But this has not prevented a veritable industry of falsehood from being created. Much of this comes from U.S. and British diplomats in Delhi and Islamabad. Day after day they brief sympathetic journalists whose stories allegedly come from within Afghanistan. Casualties of Afghan government and Soviet forces are greatly exaggerated. Incidents that never happened are solemnly documented. The level of factionalism in the Afghan regime is multiplied. A rough rule of thumb would be that at least two-thirds of all the news stories allegedly coming from Afghanistan via these diplomatic channels are rubbish.

In 1983 the news managers went on a special spree with myths about the Caribbean island of Grenada. Following a conflict inside the ruling New Jewel Movement, the Grenadian leader Maurice Bishop and dozens of his supporters were killed. On the realization that such a move would be popular with the Grenadan population, Reagan invaded.

To back up this military move, a large-scale press and psychological operations maneuver went into action: it was claimed that the Russians and Cubans were stockpiling weapons on Grenada, that American lives were at risk, that Grenada under Bishop had been a totalitarian state, and much else besides. These were all lies.

No account of the way information is warped in cold war would be complete without mention of another recurring trope, the use of defectors. Defectors there certainly are, in both directions. But what is so simple and recurrent is the way in which newspapers and politicians purport to believe what defectors say. Any defector worth his or her salt knows that their importance increases in proportion to what they have to say. And then there is the matter of these defectors being primed to say what their hosts want them to say. A good example of defector inflation is the case of Arkady Shevchenko, the Soviet diplomat who defected in 1978 after serving at the U.N. Shevchenko's memoirs make him out to have been a major spy, and to have had access to details of life at the very top of the Soviet state. "Even Mrs. Gromyko was anxious about her conversations being overheard by the KGB..." etc. As a recent article in the *New Republic* points out, Shevchenko's story is full of errors, and the current book comes after an earlier, duller, version which was rejected for publication as tedious. It turns out that the Shevchenko revelations which have so shocked readers in the west, are part of a public relations exercise. They were written for him.

There is no sign such operations are ending. Indeed, it has been Reagan administration policy to push the U.S. advantage in the information field more than ever. Radio Marti, broadcasting to Cuba, is now in operation. Plans are being discussed to resume intensive broadcasting by Voice of America to western Europe for the first time in over 20 years. Editors and media officials are finding U.S. embassies much more active and ready to complain than in the past. The budget of the U.S. Information Agency has been increased. And U.S. officials are already at work deciding how best to use the news possibilities of cable TV and direct broadcasting of TV by satellite. ■ *Fred Halliday is a senior fellow of the Institute for Policy Studies. He teaches at the London School of Economics.*



By Diana Johnstone

RÉGIS DEBRAY HAS WRITTEN what he calls his "last political book." He says he is fed up with politics and prefers art. This attitude, like the book itself, is symptomatic of the mood of the times and of the rapid disappearance of the species known as *intellectuel de gauche*, or French left-wing intellectual.

His adieu to politics is accompanied by a bow toward the throne. There are even hints that he is saying what President Francois Mitterrand thinks but cannot say because of his high office. "Modest collaborator of a great statesman," writes Debray, "I have nothing more to say than what the President of the Republic, under whom I have had the honor to serve, knows already."

Debray's book, *Les Empires contre l'Europe* ("Empires against Europe," thus far published only by Gallimard in France), may be the best of the political essays that have been issuing like death rattles from the expiring intelligentsia. Debray is especially interesting because he writes about the sorry state of French thinking, while exhibiting some of its typical traits and limitations. The most flagrant is the cult of state power—the French state, that is.

The "empires" of the title are, of course, the U.S. and the USSR, which fits into the tradition of French tirades against the superpowers. But Debray sees how the stereotypes have got out of hand, and tries to acquaint his French readers with some aspects of present-day world reality assiduously overlooked by the media. Since he insists that the big bad Soviet bear

is not about to gobble us all up, that the USSR is on the defensive, that the expanding empire swallowing up France is in fact the American one, his book may be judged by very superficial or obsequious critics as "anti-American." In fact, Debray is closer to mainstream American appraisals of the global balance of power than the French pundits who have been raving about the Gulag for the past 10 years.

The problem Debray perceives is that in its collective fixation on the Soviet danger and infatuation with its American protector, France is actually losing its *capacité to think* and thus to survive.

The level of freedom of thought "is dropping rapidly, below the European average," Debray warns. "This loss of identity, this collective depersonalization has no precedent in our history, nor—at least today—any equivalent in the rest of continental Europe. Deploable exception. It is the country with the biggest total of objective factors of autonomy which is the most losing the subjective means to assume its destiny." This is a bold acknowledgement, but stops at the level of paradox, instead of going on to analyze whether the "factors of autonomy"—among which Debray evidently includes the French nuclear weapons arsenal—have not in reality become factors of bondage.

As a Gaullist, Andre Malraux used to claim that in France there existed only "us, the Communists and nothing." Debray comments that 20 years later, "the nothing tends to become everything." For the "collapse of the Soviet myth" has only been "precipitating the opposite alienation." The collapse

of internal centers of resistance to the dominant classes—that is, the collapse of the "workers' movement" and the "intellectuals"—weakens the resistance to dominant foreign powers.

"In twenty years, France has been considerably normalized," with everything adapting to "the norms of spectacle." "The passage from the age of politics to the age of media (or if you prefer from the party system to the opinion poll system...) puts a brake on Russian subversion and accelerates American subversion. At the moment when the Eastern Empire is losing its internal relay points (parties, unions, intellectuals), the Western Empire sees its own growing (data banks, audiovisual programs, news magazines)."

Debray observes that "democracy requires a certain respect for theoretical abstraction," which is "by essence liberating, and first of all from appearances." Rationalism, essential to progress, explains the visible by the invisible. Now, the visible reigns, unex-

INPRINT

## THE FRENCH LEFT

## Debray's "revolution in the revolution" is over

plained. Images impose the authority of appearances.

## Pro-Americanism reigns

While the majority of intellectuals have sided with the ruling power since 1848, writes Debray, what is new is the disappearance of centers of minority resistance, located mainly in the teaching profession. This profession has lost status and security, and "the degree of resistance to public opinion is weakening at a dizzying rate in intellectual milieux..." Pro-Americanism is the standard of conformity.

The French foreign policy establishment, already well to the right of the national spectrum, "lives in symbiosis with American institutes." French strategic information is supplied by the Americans. The French press takes Washington's side in every quarrel, even with Paris. Thus the U.S. readily dominates French foreign policy, first of all in its very formation, and finally through the media and public opinion.

Debray perceives that this new love is unrequited. "America is infatuated only with itself. By a unique blend of dependency and conceit, intellectual France has become infatuated with America." Debray also finds "America lovable and the USSR unpleasant." Indeed he devotes many pages to the intellectual and human pleasure he derives from visiting America, contrasted to the boredom and irritation inspired by Communist countries.

Debray seems to have learned something from his sojourns to American think tanks. At least, he could well have picked up from the American foreign policy establishment the idea current there—but scandalously "anti-American" in Paris—that over-dependence on the American protectorate is ruining West Europeans' "spirit of defense" and is even hastening the "Finlandization" of Europe. In this way the Atlantic Alliance has become "counter-productive, a false security, a real danger," he suggests. The evolution of Holland, Italy and West Germany suggest to him that the "Atlanticism of the fathers" can produce "the pacifism of the sons, if not the terrorism of the most desperate." This critique of NATO is not so much "anti-Americanism" as American foreign policy orthodoxy.

His remedy also smacks of Kissinger. De Gaulle took France out of NATO's integrated military command in the '60s, but the oil crisis integrated France politically into NATO in the '70s. Debray suggests it would be a good idea now to assert greater political independence from NATO while increasing military integration. This, Debray's only practical suggestion, merely reflects the quantity of French policy: close polit-

ical coupling with the U.S. is weakening France's influence in the world (example, the expedition to Lebanon), whereas the cost of military independence is increasingly prohibitive.

Debray's effort to describe an orientation other than the current "idolatry of America" hinges on a combination of factors that do not easily combine: a Western Europe based on Franco-German partnership, nuclear weapons, France's special world role and a new ideology of "particularism."

Wooing Germany and German nationalism, complete with lip service to German reunification, has become a political commonplace of the French political class in its recent frantic effort to "anchor Germany to the West." But Debray adds two more original concessions. The boldest is to concede to the Federal Republic of Germany and its Ostpolitik the lion's share in the gradual political liberation of Eastern Europe. "If Central Europe has to wait for its liberation from America, it may as well be waiting for Godot, for the objective in that case can be attained only by a military and global defeat of the USSR, thus by war. That is neither desirable nor possible."

Instead, the little nations must be reabsorbed into European civilization. "It's our common task, of which our German friends will have the greatest share. For let's face it: the natural interlocutor, the historic partner of the societies of *Mitteleuropa* is the Federal Republic..."

Finally, Debray recognizes that the German people do not want nuclear weapons, and even acknowledges that there will probably be a "post-nuclear period." Thus Franco-German military cooperation should proceed in the field of conventional armament, along the lines suggested last summer by former chancellor Helmut Schmidt, Debray recommends. In advocating this partnership, Debray warns of the "gap which is opening up between German and French intellectuals, due first of all to the contemptuous ignorance of the Gallo-roman intelligentsia regarding its neighbor," a neighbor "better informed of the state of the world" than the French.

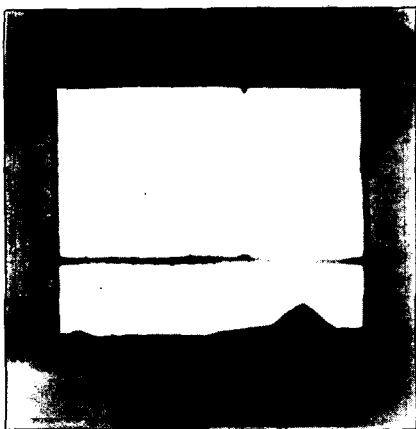
This solicitude for German sensibilities, and notably for their supposedly renescent nationalism, does not extend to pacifists and ecologists. While trying to stake out a "left" foreign policy position (which indeed probably is relatively new to the left in France today), based on Franco-German partnership (France simply hasn't the means to keep playing world power on its own), Debray proposes an ideological basis of reversion to nationalism that could find echoes only in the right in Germany.

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### The groping French left

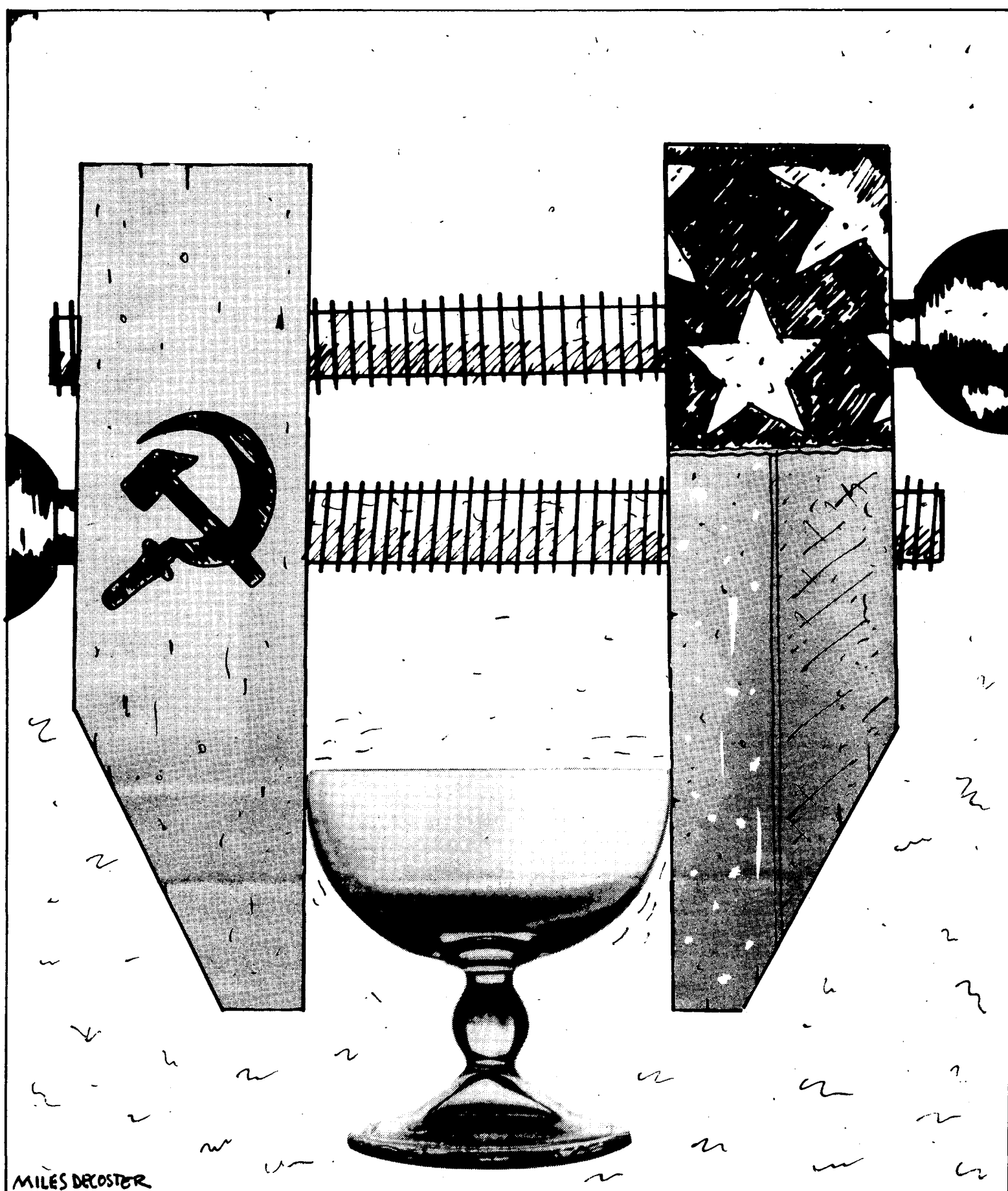
Without any ideology, either Marxist or even social democratic, the French left (reduced practically to its original meaning of those who sit on the left side of the parliament) is groping for an orientation to distinguish itself from the right. Faced with the mounting racism of the extreme right, it seems to see an opportunity to affirm an identity in championing human rights, notably the right to racial and ethnic differences. It is observed that the U.S. world role is considerably strengthened by the presence at home of diverse ethnic groups. An ideology of ethnic particularism might help France compete, on a smaller scale, for world influence and contribute to regaining a certain sphere of influence in Eastern Europe.

Debray notes the "paradox for a 'man of the left'" that the assertion of civil autonomies in the Soviet sphere has a democratic value in itself "but is not necessarily a bearer of values that are democratic (internationalist, egalitarian, laic, rationalist), but more generally retrograde (authoritarian, xenophobic or chauvinist, obscurantist, nationalist, etc.)." Debray blames Communism for having popularized as never before the most conservative traditional ideals, "liberating everywhere formidable forces of social and mental regression." He seems to be thinking of Poland, which is about all most French have been thinking of in recent years outside France.

This criticism is valid, but what is particularly "hexagonal," provincially French, is the absence of criticism of the free capitalist world for doing the same thing. Who is responsible for liberating what he calls "the most offensive and mobilizing totalitarian expansionism today," Islam? If the failure of Soviet socialism has boosted conservative ideals in Eastern Europe, then in similar fashion the failure of American sponsored modernization, plus the suppression of a modern secular left, has brought Khomeini to power in Iran.

What is *not* in Debray's book is most significant. He admits to being "very little socialist," of course, but more surprising in view of his past reputation is the absence of any real internationalism, notably concerning the Third World. For all his gallant efforts to appreciate the Germans, there is no hint of awareness that some of them, at least, are trying to give a "content to modernity" that is not archaic but ethical and ecological, geared to solving real problems and averting real catastrophes. In comparison, Debray's suggestions are abstract and empty.

In a more analytical and less lyrical vein, it could be argued that nationalism and particularism are not the wave of the future but countercurrents. More important for anyone who ventures onto the terrain of political moralism, it should be emphasized that the best of "particular" cultures is the attempt, always needing to be renewed and improved, to express universal values.



For two centuries, France has spread its influence in the world as the champion of universal values such as reason, enlightenment, human rights, liberty, equality and fraternity. Now caught between what Debray perceives as a strong messianic state universalism (the U.S.) and a weak one (the USSR), France and Europe are advised to return to nurturing ethnic identities.

#### Ethnic belonging

Debray seeks "the end of the universal exploding in the universal explosion of particularisms. A Jewish Communist who has grown up with his century, whether in Paris, Moscow or Jaffa... has nine chances in 10 to have been feeling less and less Communist and more and more Jewish (that is, 'anti-Communist'). Just as, in the same period, the Westernized liberal Moslem, whether in Cairo, Lagos or Kuala Lumpur, will have become more and more Moslem (that is, 'anti-Western'), a French socialist, still more French—or more European—and a little less socialist. Once in power, he'll have seemed more sensitive to

murmurs from the south quarter in Africa than to protestations from the Socialist International, as if he found more in common with a French-speaking feudal lord than with a virtuous Finn."

This trend of the past decade is accepted as the universal direction

*Debray's principles come straight from the ethnology of Levi-Strauss and illustrate structuralism's intellectual victory.*

of history with amazing complacency. There is no critical analysis of these changes (certainly not of the French socialist). Rather, Debray whisks them out of reach of

any ethical judgment by wrapping them up in a "thesis of a principle of constancy maintaining balance, in the ongoing life of historical groups, between factors of change and factors of stability." The more technological progress accelerates, the faster the return to "founding criteria, to the sources and emblems of the threatened ethnic belonging. The more there is 'progress,' the more there is 'regression': the more there is leveling, the more there are closed off spaces; the more there is atomization, the more there is tribalization. Modernity will be archaic or it will not be."

This principle comes straight from the ethnology of Claude Lévi-Strauss, and illustrates the victory of structuralism over historicism, of passive description over analysis intended to direct action, in French intellectual life.

Debray complains of France imagining an "abstract modernity," abstract because "amputated of its traditionalist pendant (what could be more 'passé' than Reagan's red, white and blue discourse?)" The American model of high tech plus retrograde Reagan-style

patriotism is an odd model indeed for European unity. European war would be more like it.

Historically, the French state was unified and strengthened by the suppression of ethnic particularisms in the name of a higher universality. It is a tricky thing, then, to combine fervor for the French State with an ideology of ethnic particularism, but this is what Debray wants to try. Perhaps nothing is more characteristic of the French "particularism" than defense of "the interests of the State" over and above everything.

Debray writes with evident feeling of "the conviction of living in a precarious, precious, rare society, whose rareness has been and remains obtained and safeguarded by a State with an uncertain future; that this State of law is in France our most precious possession, because it guarantees our freedoms and first of all that of being ourselves, with our collective difference, our singular voice with its multiple timbres which makes all our contribution to the 'concert of nations'; that it would be fatal to dissociate the question of individual and public freedoms from



By Marcia Pally

**S**HE WAS "M CRAZY" SANG Patsy Cline, the Country & Western singer of the early '60s who crossed over into Pop and became one of the best known performers of her day. "Crazy for trying, crazy for crying...I'm crazy over you."

It was one of her many hit songs. So popular was the tune that the filmmakers of *Sweet Dreams*, the Cline biopic starring Jessica Lange and Ed Harris, considered naming their movie *Crazy*. Thankfully, they thought better of it. "Crazy" too easily calls up titles like *Diary of a Mad Housewife* with its suggestion that women are hysterical and irrational—a suggestion inappropriate to both Cline's life and the film.

Karel Reisz (*The French Lieutenant's Woman*) directed *Sweet Dreams* and Robert Getchell (whose screenplays include *Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore*) wrote the script. Their treatment of Cline avoids the stereotype of the high-strung performer steadied by her practical, protective family and friends: If anyone is uncontrolled in *Sweet Dreams* it's Cline's husband, Charlie Dick. Lange's Cline is saucy, energetic, and capable, with many of the same inner resources as Lange's farm wife in her last picture, *Country*.

In that film, which Lange also produced, she played Jewell Ivy, the missus on a family farm facing bank foreclosure. To research the script, Lange, along with screenwriter and coproducer William Wittliff, visited corn belt communities where the financial locusts have been reaping their harvests. They discovered that the women were holding up under poverty and dislocation better than the men. And so *Country* became a quiet tribute to female endurance. Jewell does what she can to fight the banks; her husband, Gil (Sam Shepard), has a breakdown. His self-esteem undermined, he loses hope and control, and finally gives his teenage son a nasty beating. Jewell is forced to kick him out. Gil isn't the only guy having trouble: a nearby farmer, about to lose his land, kills himself.

In the final minutes, *Country*'s attempt at realism is undercut by a not very credible scene. Taking their cue from Jewell's son, the town's farmers move to block the sale of the Ivy's farm equipment. Their chants of "No sale; no sale" create an emotional catharsis (tinged with rugged individualism or collective action, depending on your point of view). But it feels contrived, and smacks not only of sloganeering but of too-easy movie finales.

Nevertheless, Jewell Ivy's clear-headed resolve comes through—more forceful than Sally Field's perseverance as a dust-bowl widow in *Places of the Heart*, and much more persuasive than Sissy Spacek's steadiness as a farm wife in *The River*, an overblown, lachrymose soap that closes with mom, pop, and the kids facing a bountiful corn harvest and the sunset. (*The River* had one moment of interesting social comment, though, when Spacek's nearly-ruined husband, played by Mel Gibson, joins a scab labor team to bring in extra cash.)

Lange comes from Minnesota and *Country* is surely her homage to the plain, resilient women she knew there. These are not the women whose bylines can be

found in *Ms.* or *Mother Jones*, who appear on *Nightline* discussing pornography, or who teach women's studies courses. They are not the feted figures of feminism. They are ordinary women who turned out to be tough. And when word of *Sweet Dreams* got around, I thought the film might be a second tribute to them. I thought Lange might be making a project of giving such women their due.

Patsy Cline was born in 1933 in Gore, Virginia, a very small town

National Championship Country Music Contest. In 1955 she cut her first record, "A Church, A Courtroom, and then Goodbye," attracting the attention of djs, listeners, and, again, Nashville. She made her debut at the Opry later that year. By 1957 she was performing in clubs in New York and Washington, and finally on the *Arthur Godfrey Talent Scouts* television show. The song she sang there, "Walkin' After Midnight," sold over a million records.

It was also in 1957 that Patsy

Lange's performance suits the script. Bouncy and flirtatious when the film opens, she calms as her character gets older. But two children and seven years later, she still has her saucy manner and wicked mouth. Consider the scene where Cline comes home to a small party and finds her husband of five years slow-dancing with another woman. He tries to explain: the lady's really someone else's steady. Ever so sweetly, Cline says, "You must be confusing me with someone who gives a shit," and sashays up the stairs.

#### Infectious soundtrack

Though Cline was a "star," *Sweet Dreams* doesn't make her more glamorous than she was. Lange gained weight for the part and becomes only slightly more sophisticated over the course of the film, as Cline's reputation and income increase. And the scenes where Cline is pregnant tell it like it is.

pulls at the heart.

Unfortunately, the story itself doesn't quite. Not that Cline's life—with her dirt-poor childhood, rise to fame and fortune, and intense if volatile relationship with her husband—is dramatically inadequate. Or that Harris and Ann Wedgeworth turn in bland performances (Wedgeworth is especially endearing as Cline's mother.) *Sweet Dreams* lacks the emotional undertow to affect viewers deeply and to unify the film.

I identified with Lange/Cline occasionally—with her disappointment, for example, when Charlie goes out screwing some other woman while she's in labor with their first child. But I couldn't stay with her long. The plot goes from event to event without establishing an abiding bond. Most importantly, it fails to link Cline's life with her work.

Art isn't always directly contingent on life—Charles Ives sold insurance, for instance, and Wallace Stevens was a physician. But in a biopic, where that contingency is the basic premise, the art must be related to *something*, if not to historical or personal events then to personality, worldview, or emotional complexion. And if the artist creates in a trance, as though possessed by another being, so that there is a gap rather than a union between process and product, then the mystery of the experience needs to be made clear.

*Sweet Dreams* attempts some coherence between Cline's history and her songs. Three or four times she says: daddy never did right by mom and I'm gonna do it right—make my money by singing, buy a big house with yellow roses and raise my kids.

But this explains her ambition, not the pathos in her songs. And all the verbal and physical fighting with Charlie—given much footage in the film—remains a distinct strain of the story. *Sweet Dreams* can't decide on its focus: is it Charlie, Cline's life, or her career. It's backed into the position of having to choose between them because it hasn't braided them better.

*Sweet Dreams* was produced by Bernard Schwartz, who was also the producer for *Coal Miner's Daughter*. This biography of Loretta Lynn, one of the younger C&W singers for whom Cline was "The Queen," has emotional undertow enough to carry an entire audience. The passages of Lynn (Sissy Spacek) singing hoarsely, inexpertly, to her children in her primitive Appalachian kitchen are unforgettable. And without a lot of fuss or reductive argument, the film suggests that something of Lynn's experience—between ages 14 and 20, for example, she had four babies—fueled her way of singing.

*Coal Miner's Daughter* is effective and moving. It brings one along through Lynn's life and provides all the vicarious experiences for which we go to the cinema. Not so *Sweet Dreams*. There are a few occasions for sympathy, a few for empathy, but on the whole the film touches Cline's life lightly and skitters about.

As tributes go, *Country* and *Coal Miner's Daughter* are more thorough, more resonant. But if *Sweet Dreams* disappointingly stays on the surface, the surface, at least, is engaging. And Cline's songs hit deeply. They speak for themselves.

Marcia Pally writes frequently on feminist issues for *In These Times*.

## FILM

# Revisiting the country, singing



Jessica Lange's portrayal of Patsy Cline is energetic and capable.

near Winchester. Her mother, Hilda, was 16; her father, Samuel, was 45 and had two children from a previous marriage. The family was poor, and became poorer when Samuel left Hilda and the kids.

At eight, Patsy tap danced and played the piano, and dreamt about the Grand Ole Opry. Within a few years, she was singing in local bars and race tracks, and nearly had her big break in 1949 when Opry star Wally Fowler brought her to Nashville for record company auditions. She thought she was too young to stay. Back in Winchester, she worked at Gaunt's Drugstore and continued singing locally.

Patsy married Gerald Cline in 1953. By that time, she had become a well-known performer in Virginia and was a hit at the 1954

met Charlie Dick, divorced Cline, and married Charlie. And it's here that *Sweet Dreams* begins, following the tumultuous marriage with Charlie and Cline's progress from local celebrity to national figure. She performed regularly at the Opry between 1960 and '63; she sang in Carnegie Hall in 1961 and at the Hollywood Bowl in 1962. "Sweet Dreams," "I Fall to Pieces," "Crazy," "She's Got You," and "Heartaches" all sold over a million copies, as did many other songs in her repertory. Cline died in an airplane crash in 1963.

The dialogue in *Sweet Dreams* does for Southern women what *Country* did for farm wives. Kiss-ass sharp, Cline's lines show her as a gal who can take care of herself, straightforward, exuberant, and more than likely to use humor or satire to get out of a pinch.

She throws up into the toilet in the first trimester and looks bloated and exhausted in the third. Heroines don't have to be pin-ups, and this kind of frank presentation (frank within the conventions of cinema) acknowledges who they actually are. This, too, is a tribute.

But Cline's passion and perseverance are best credited by her singing. The soundtrack of *Sweet Dreams* is infectious. All the songs were taken from Cline's recordings. Some have the original arrangements and others were given new ones by separating the vocal tracks from the instrumentals and mixing them with contemporary back-ups. Because of this manipulation, certain musical passages sound more amplified and augmented than the rest of the soundtrack. But the difference doesn't detract: Cline's singing



By Lucy R. Lippard

**I** DON'T REMEMBER A SUMMER when arts activists have been so active. In August, around Hiroshima/Nagasaki days, some 70,000 feet of lovingly crafted needlework surrounded the Pentagon, White House, and Lincoln Memorial in *The Ribbon* (see *In These Times*, Sept. 18), and 10,000 artists painted the vaporized shadows of Atom Bomb victims in the streets of 20 different countries for *The International Shadow Project*. A second working artists' brigade went to Nicaragua from the Boston-based "Arts for a New Nicaragua/Artists Call." In Saint Paul, Minnesota, "Artists on the Frontline" held an ambitious festival called "Visions of a Progressive Reality," and more, much more.

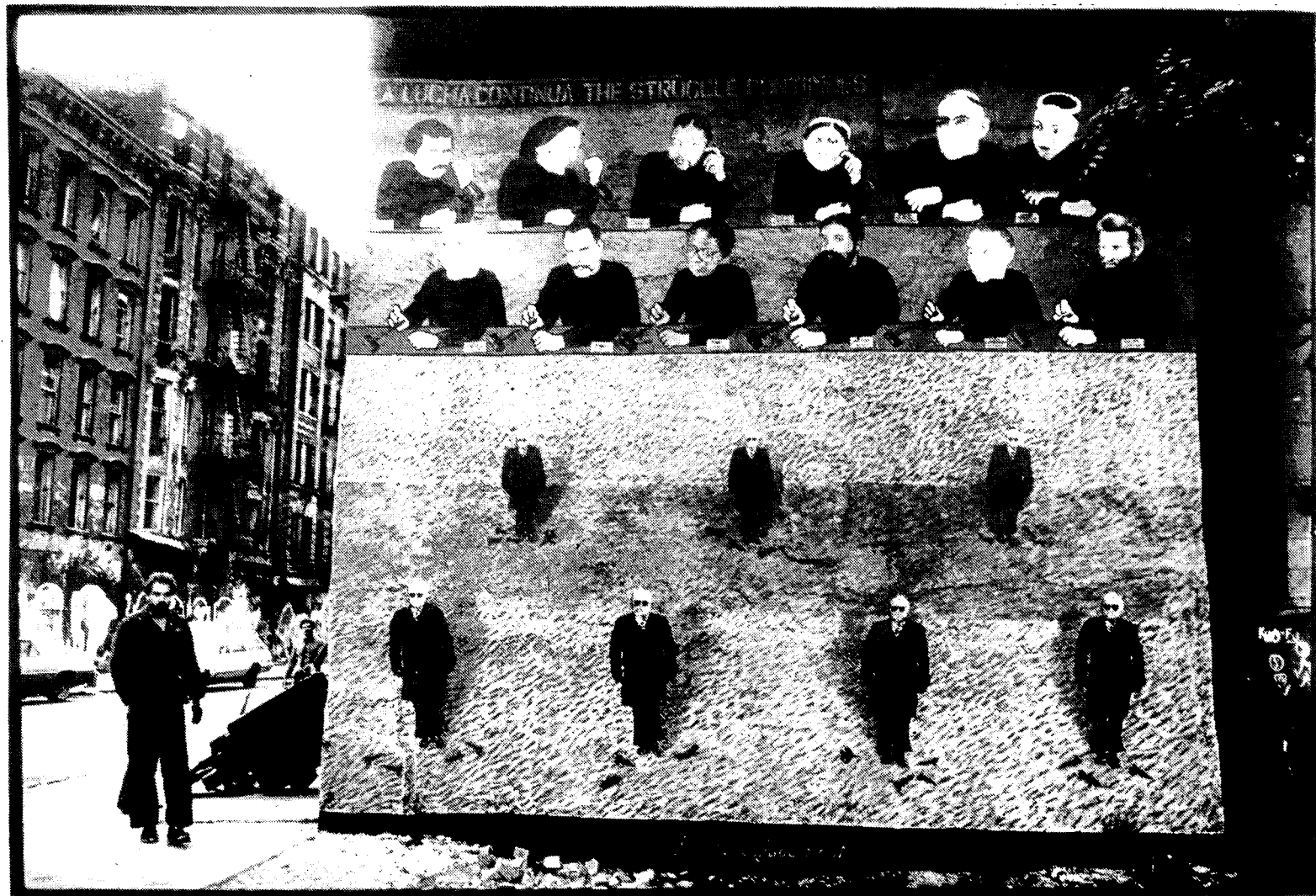
In New York's *Loisaida* (local Hispanicization for "Lower East Side"), a series of vacant lots on 9th Street and Avenue C were transformed into the city's biggest and most impressive collective mural project to date—"The Struggle Continues/*La Lucha Continua*" (*La Lucha*), directed by Eva Cockcroft and sponsored by Artmakers and Charas. A block away, *El Bohío*, Charas' Community Cultural Center, hosted a benefit auction run by a professional from Sotheby's, yet, with contributions from big monikers in the art world and its fringes.

With Mayor "Koochie Koochie" Koch tickling the public's fantasies in the mayoral primary (it only cost him \$6 million), we needed the optimism offered by events like *La Lucha's* Dedication Fiesta on September 14. It was a sunny Saturday with casual crowds enjoying, rock and salsa jumping, chicken sizzling, beer flowing, local kids selling the free flyers for a quarter, and even an enterprising open-air barber. Speakers included poet Roberto Vargas from Nicaragua's Ministry of Culture, African National Congress representative Neo Mnumzana from the UN, Charas and Bohio founder Chino Garcia, a "minstrel" performance by Black artists Noah Jemison and John McFee, and passionate Spanish poetry by a neighborhood septuagenarian.

*La Lucha's* subjects are urban issues, easily connected to self-determination in Nicaragua and South Africa. Some 50 artists worked on the 24 separate paintings, which are dominated by a 40'-square mural classic—a crystal-ball view of a future unspoiled by gentrification, drugs, and malign neglect. The murals range from the predictable to the innovative. Among the most successful were Maria Dominguez's lyrical Latino emblem—mask over skull with twirling flags. Seth Tobocman's graphically brilliant denunciation of police brutality, dedicated to the cop-killed graffiti artist Michael Stewart (unfortunately hidden away in an alley because it was "controversial"), and Kristen Reed's and Robin Michals' *The Last Judgement*.

#### New mural forms

Reed's and Michals' painting is formally original and politically savvy. It might point a way out of the stylistic rut that has imprisoned even the best murals in the U.S. (though the Chicano imagery of the Southwest also offers exits to visual excitement). *The Last Judgement* is irregularly divided into two horizontal bands—the lower



## CULTURAL DEMOCRACY

# Hot art in the summertime

by Reed, a field of brilliant green regularly broken by the stylized uniform figures of "businessmen"; the upper by two rows of Michals' drawn heads, highly individualized portraits of international resistance leaders and local community leaders. (After a summer of work, they discovered that their choices were not always the "right" ones, adding an element of life, and humor.)

Where collective murals too often obscure the best of individuals' styles, this collaboration integrated and enriched very different personal styles. Reed's more schematic use of color and semi-geometric composition doesn't jar Michals' almost awkward but meticulously realistic portraits.

The Dedication Fiesta for *La Lucha* was the most seamless community/artists social event I've seen in NYC for years. Interestingly, it attracted virtually no "tourists" from SoHo, New Jersey, the Upper East Side, or even the East Village. Those looking for bargains in black leather neo-expressionism stopped a block away at Avenue B (the line of chic in Alphaville is drawn further east each year; just two more blocks to the river).

Projects like these are ignored in the "higher" art altitudes, although those spheres have nonetheless acquired a certain tolerance for "political art" over the last few years, thanks in no small part to the activities of precisely such progressive groups as those involved in *La Lucha*. Witness the patronizing coverage of *The Shadow Project* by a *Village Voice* critic who appears to have spent some time at one hit site and some more time in a classy Tribeca bar.

Wallowing, appropriately, in double negatives, Gary Indiana asked "but who in that week of media commemoration didn't find him or herself unable to think about Hiroshima?" He came to the simple but irrelevant conclusion

that "if showing what nuclear war would do could solve the problem, the problem would no longer exist"...So let's have another drink and try not to remember.

Indiana also indulged in some marvelously earnest art criticism, judging the stencils that he saw (they were at different sites) as "puzzlingly crude, less than human size, with weirdly proportioned limbs and unnaturally tapered extremities." This from a New Yorker daily exposed to whitewall-to-whitewall expanses of just such mutants, selling nicely, thanks.

#### Fashionable cynicism

Coverage of culturally democratic projects by people who jeer at their "earnestness," condescend to their "idealism," and would rather not have to think about them is, alas, par for the course. It's easy to be scathing and cynical, much harder to find and envision a silver lining. Activist artists have been agonizing for years now about the need for positive imagery in the face of a pretty negative reality.

What those who deride the impotence of projects like *The Ribbon* and *The Shadow Project* don't understand—because such understanding comes from experience—is that the effect of collective work is intimate as well as outreaching, that consciousness is best aroused by participation, by the act of creation, and worst served by passive distancing, or "objectivity."

"Some of the panels are works of art," said Justine Merritt, the "Denver grandmother" who conceived of *The Ribbon*. "All of them are works of the heart."

"But is it art?" is a question many cultural workers long ago shined on. But it's still fashionable among the insecure, who feel they can't make up their own minds until the expert opinions are in. The real questions are "Does it mean anything to us? Is it well

enough made so that it simultaneously communicates and transcends the narrow interpretation of a sensation of an idea? Does it move, provoke, madden, sadden, or soothe us? Why? How?"

More and more people are becoming "artists." Culture is an expression of every aspect of people's lives, and it has to mean something when thousands of middle-class, previously apolitical people need a public outlet for their personal hopes and fears. The (mostly) women who crocheted, quilted, and embroidered the thousands of 18' x 36' panels of *The Ribbon* to commemorate the things they would miss most after a holocaust are straight America's reply to the nuclear buildup, heirs to the makers of peace quilts and "collages of indignation" of the '60s.

*The Shadow Project* attracted younger people and artists often working in "guerrilla" forms for the first time. *La Lucha Continua* is a product of the growing, dedicated core of progressive artists; their ages ranged from teens to fifties, and more than a third were people of color.

#### The Warhol Show

Between them, the *Ribbon* and the *Shadow Project* attracted far more media than the art world's tempestuous teapots—like the much touted "bout" between Andy Warhol and the hot young Haitian-American artist Jean Michel Basquiat, now playing at a SoHo gallery run by an Iranian emigré and former Shah-supporter who had, in an earlier incarnation, spray-painted a slogan across Picasso's *Guernica* in the Museum of Modern Art. The twin posters for the exhibition and an evening at the Palladium show the white-haired boy and the black-haired beau, first with dukes up, then at TKO time. Guess who wins? Remember where you are. White male art supremacy meets the challenge

*THE LAST JUDGEMENT*, by Kristen Reed and Robin Michals and Basquiat takes it on the cheek.

Meanwhile, back at the farm and the community garden, artists involved in the movement for cultural democracy are trying to break down the vision of art as a trickle-down commodity from on high. The Alliance for Cultural Democracy (ACD) will be pursuing these goals in its annual conference at Chicago's Wellington Avenue Church, October 11-14. (For info; Allen Schwartz, 2262 W. 119th Pl.; Blue Island, IL 60406; 312-388-3871.)

As a member of its Board (which is its sole, and unpaid, staff), I'd like to invite anyone—artist, organizer, educator—who is inspired by *The Ribbon*, *The*

*Collective works like the mural project are generally ignored in the "higher" art altitudes.*

*Shadow Project*, *La Lucha*, and similar efforts. The conference's title is "ImaginAction" and its theme is self determination. The sessions are structured from experience to reflection to action. The end product will be the draft of a Cultural Bill of Rights for a country that conveniently claims to have no cultural policy.

As Board member Charles Frederick has put it: "We have recognized that the greatest cultural expression we're all involved in is the project of human freedom itself." To those who don't recognize this as a definition of any kind of art—a particularly warm invitation.

Lucy Lippard, whose most recent book is *Get the Message? A Decade of Art for Social Change* (Dutton), writes on art and politics monthly for *In These Times*.



# Germany

Continued from page 3

ernment, including Defense Minister Manfred Wörner, Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann, Foreign Aid Minister Jürgen Warnke, and Inner-German Relations Minister Heinrich Windelen. Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg, who opposed the NPT when he was in charge of atomic research under Erhard, is often mentioned as the most probable successor to chancellor Helmut Kohl among Christian Democrats. Kohl himself is a compromise or transitional leader while the West German political class works out whether and how to stay with detente despite the Reagan administration's course or to revert to a policy of (nuclear) strength.

West German nuclear technology exports have favored countries that have rejected the NPT and shown interest in having their own nuclear weapons. It can be suspected that shrewd nuclear nationalists of the Strauss school see a certain measure of Third World proliferation as an eventual pretext for FRG

nuclear armament. The more countries that have nuclear weapons, the more unfair it will seem for Germany not to.

Technically, the FRG could convert to a nuclear power in a matter of months. The Bundeswehr has been trained in the use of tactical nuclear weapons (which Adenauer once described as "simply the modern development of artillery") provided by the U.S. for the last quarter century. Last year the WEU lifted its 1954 restrictions on German missile manufacture, enabling German industry to develop its own long-range delivery systems. The "Rogers Plan" NATO battlefield modernization encourages ambiguity over the type of warheads—conventional or nuclear, or perhaps chemical—to be carried by new delivery systems such as small cruise missiles. The FRG is involved in the French nuclear program, notably cooperating in operation of the new fast breeder reactor "Superphenix" in Malville designed to provide for current expansion of the French force de frappe. At Hanau near Frankfurt, a secret government plutonium bunker belonging to the firm ALKEM already stores what researchers call "the largest stock of weapons-grade

material ever possessed by a non-nuclear weapons state."

So far the nuclear option for West Germany is kept out of public debate and hinted at only in specialized journals, such as *Wehrkunde*, a semi-official German defense organ, in which Christian Democratic Bundestag arms policy spokesman Jürgen Todenhöfer wrote last year that "resentment is growing" over the "anachronistic special rights" of France and Britain. He demanded speedy creation of a West European nuclear force including Pershing II and cruise missiles in the FRG.

Germans can figure that the FRG's clear capacity to go nuclear on its own plus increasingly prohibitive costs of the force de frappe will overcome French reluctance to pool nuclear forces... at least by 1995. ■

## PLO

Continued from page 10

the mainstream military approach remains. In Tunis, PLO staffers offer a two-point program to accompany the pursuit of a political settlement: 1) development of secure bases in neighboring Arab areas from which to step up resistance inside the occupied territories; and 2) a sustained drive to foster Arab unity and material support for the PLO, "not in word but in deed."

The first point is itself a recognition of two changes since the Lebanon War: dispersal of a standing Palestinian army—thus the need to return to traditional guerrilla tactics—and consolidation of support for the PLO within the West Bank and Gaza. It was the motive behind the retraining programs for Palestinian fighters established after the war and the subject of much discussion in the Fatah central committee, which has attempted to give it strategic means, in face of extremely limited access to tenable military positions. But most leaders acknowledge that border-state Arab unity is not likely in the near future.

One founding precept of Fatah, which took control of the PLO in 1968-69—was

that the liberation movement should not hitch its fortunes to the good offices of the Arab states. Throughout the early years, Arafat and others argued that the Palestinian struggle should not be subsumed within the broader perspective of pan-Arabism. Fatah believed that Arab unity would emerge because of the Palestinian question. But three years after the evacuation of Beirut, there can be little doubt that the Palestinians' substantive gains—and recent setbacks—have failed to galvanize the Arab regimes. Thus loyalist voices are now obliged to set Arab unity as a precondition for further Palestinian successes.

Given this setback, it is not surprising that some Palestinians are driven back on precarious hopes. At the Tunis headquarters of the Palestinian Trade Union Federation, General Secretary Heider Ibrahim denounces several Arab states, both in his capacity as a union leader, concerned for Palestinian workers in the diaspora, and as a PLO loyalist, eager to see the Palestinian cause occupy center stage. But Ibrahim insists that long-term trends in the Arab world bode well for the Palestinians—a view shared by the PLO representative in Somalia, Mohammed Hazim.

Both men hint at the rise of a new sociopolitical consciousness in Jordan and Syria, and of a political class with different aspirations, styles and priorities than its predecessors. Against the poles of Western-style capitalism and Islamic fundamentalism in the Arab world, they pin their hopes on a less-sectarian generation with its own amalgam of Islamic and secular democratic tradition. Hazim also envisions an end to the drastic cultural crisis undergone by the oil producers, as well as a profound re-examination of values by the conservative Arab states. And he adds that Israel's Peace Now movement has a major role to play in the Palestinian struggle.

If Ibrahim and Hazim's hopes are realized, then the Palestinian cause may eventually flourish.

Journalist **Jeremy Harding** writes regularly from London.

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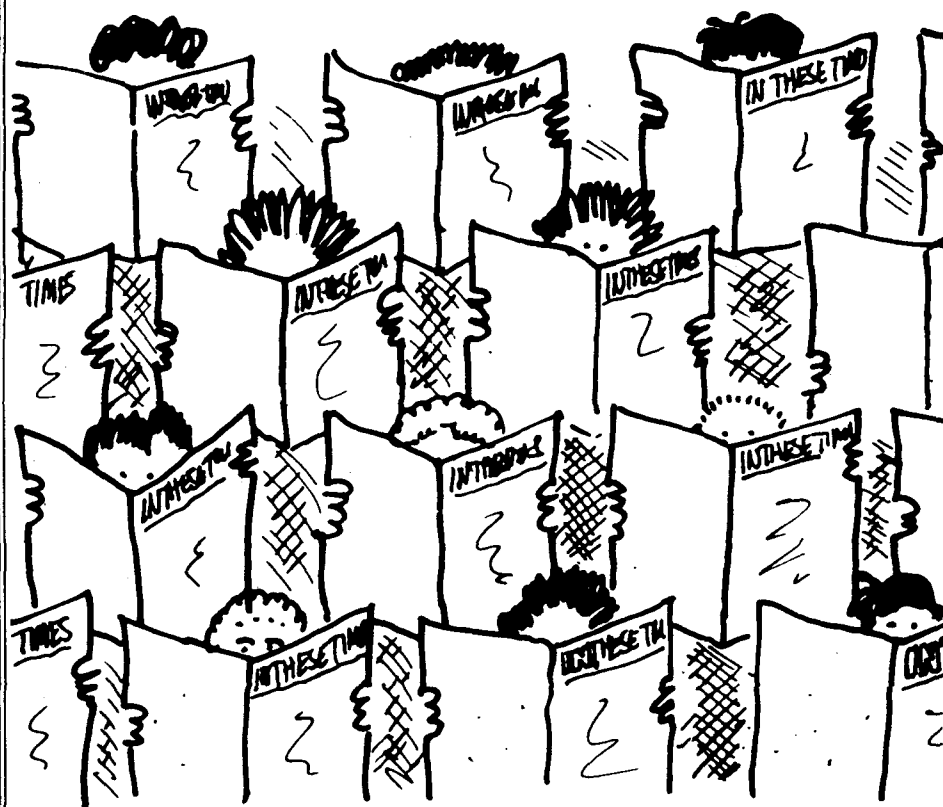
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# And now...

Continued from page 24  
ture, coast to coast.

Following one such showing, a Hartford, Conn. abortion clinic received bomb threats and pro-choice advocates pressured the cable station to cancel a second airing for "public safety." But "First Amendment rights prevailed," says Paul Braun, who speaks for the station's owner, American Telecommunications. The rightwingers' efforts have unnerved some who fought for public access, especially those with liberal roots.

"These shows are really politically uncomfortable," says Paula Manley, program director for Austin Community Television. ACTV was founded in 1981 by a group of University of Texas communications students, including Manley, who saw public access as a way of opening electronic media to views generally excluded from network broadcasting. "The other side was all over the dial," says Manley.

## Seeking balance

Still, ACTV, backed by the Texas Civil Liberties Union, has refused to follow Dallas in requiring public access programming to meet community standards. Rather, it has sought to balance rightwing broadcasts with shows exposing Klan violence and interviews with figures definitely not on the right, like Stokely Carmichael and Ramsey Clark.

Many public access advocates see the presence of ultra-rightwingers on community TV as a sign of vitality. "Programs like Metzger's constitute 1 percent of public

access time but get about 20 percent of the talk," observes Professor George Stoney of New York University's Alternative Media Center. He has been called "the Godfather of Public Access" for his years of lobbying on behalf of community television.

"Today, the main users of public access are mainstream service organizations like the Red Cross or school tutoring or even the Chamber of Commerce," Stoney says. "Frankly, I'd like to see more political debate." He does suggest that those who want to air a taped show like "Race and Reason" should be made accountable by appearing on camera when it airs.

Another who thinks public access programming is not provocative enough is Paul D'Ari of the National Confederation of Cable Planners, a lobbying body in Washington. "Sometimes I think public access is becoming too legitimate an institution," he says, explaining that pioneers in the field envisioned community television as a forum for addressing social issues ignored by the major networks. With the Federal Communications Commission showing a hands-off attitude toward broadcasters in general, most public access stations simply require users to comply with a loose code that prohibits obscenity and third party attacks on individuals. The idea of imposing community standards guidelines is anathema to advocates like Stoney.

Their attitude is perhaps best expressed by Michael Meyerson, a lawyer who coordinates the New York-based Citizens for Responsible Media. "Assuming that First Amendment protections survive on cable television," Meyerson recently wrote, "sooner or later there will be a program on public access to appall every taste." ■

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## CHICAGO, IL

### October 11-14

Imagination: Alliance for Cultural Democracy National Conference, Wellington Ave. Church, 615 W. Wellington. Progressive artists, organizers, arts administrators and educators will perform, exhibit and discuss their work, analyze its impact, share skills, and plan strategies for the future. Registration at conference or call (312) 388-3871.

## AMES, IA

### October 13-17

"Socialism in the United States: Past and Future Struggles" "The Good Fight;" Bernie Sanders; "Leftist Organizing in Local Communities;" Alan Wald: "Divisions within the Radical Left" & "Marxism and Intellectuals;" Johanna Brenner: "The Womens' Movement Today;" & "Contemporary Debates within Socialist Feminism;" Oct. 17th, 8:00 p.m. "Seeing Red." All events free. Iowa State University, Ames, Iowa, Information call (515) 294-9559.

## WASHINGTON, DC

### October 17

Debs-Thomas Dinner, sponsored by DC/Md DSA, honors Victor Reuther, Oct. 17 at 7:30 p.m., National Press Club, Washington, D.C. Tickets: \$45. Reservations accepted until Oct.

4. Contact DC/Md DSA, 1346 Connecticut Ave., NW, #810A, 20036, (202) 296-7693.

### October 25-26

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## SANTA CRUZ, CA

### October 19

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## INDIANA, PA

### October 23-25

U.S. Working Class History and Contemporary Labor Movement Symposium, Keynoters: Melvyn Dubofsky and David Gordon. Speakers include Sean Wilentz, Celia Eckhardt, Leon Fink, Mari Jo Buhle, Philip Nyden, Nelson Lichtenstein, Alice Kessler-Harris, Everett Kassalow, Peter Kelly and Charles Bryan. Contact: Irwin Marcus, History Department, Indiana University of Pennsylvania, Indiana, PA 15705, (412) 357-2227.

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## And NOW... a word from the Klan

By John Ross

**W**HITE SUPREMACISTS AND ultra-rightwingers have found a new electronic soapbox in public access television. This has outraged some unsuspecting viewers, unnerved community television planners and started a debate over just what belongs on "public access."

When it passed laws regulating cable TV in 1972, Congress encouraged cable franchise holders to make at least one channel available free to any citizens wanting to produce their own programs. There are now about 800 such channels coast to coast.

Most offerings on "community television" are a mix of the unprofessional and the innocuous, but this is not true of an abrasive talk show called "Race and Reason," hosted by Tom Metzger. Metzger is a TV repairman and leader of WAR, White American Resistance, and a former Klan leader who once embarrassed Califor-

nia Democrats by winning a congressional primary in San Diego. Metzger's guests have included representatives of a group that denies the Holocaust and Frank Silva, later indicted by a federal grand jury for his alleged role in "The Order," a far-right terrorist gang responsible for a string of murders and bank robberies. Metzger himself has labeled the Anti-Defamation League "low-grade scum."

### Spreading the message

According to Metzger, his taped program, which he calls "an island of free speech in a sea of untruth," is now on ten separate cable systems in markets like Los Angeles, San Francisco and Austin, Texas, and he expects to add outlets in North Carolina and Pennsylvania soon. Metzger also says he has taken advantage of free courses in editing and production offered by public access channels to train "three or four dozen" like-minded people.

"There are 100 million cable viewers in America," he says. "If I can reach one per-

cent of them, I'm in clover. The electronic media is the only way to get to the white working class."

Metzger is not alone in trying to spread a racist message via public access. In Dallas, Lewis Beam, one-time Texas Grand Dragon of the White Camellia Knights of the KKK, wants a weekly half-hour but so far has been unable to convince the city that his program would not violate community standards.

Beam is the founder of the Liberty Computer Network, which allows "pro-American, pro-White, anti-communist true be-

lievers who serve the one and only God, the Christ" to tape messages to each other. Beam's network often includes messages urging members to buy the Metzger show for their local public access channels, according to Lynn Wells, coordinator of the National Anti-Klan Network in Atlanta.

"Public access programmers should know that groups and individuals associated with the Metzger broadcasts are responsible for more than 1,100 documented cases of racial violence," says Wells.

Other ultra-rightists who have taken to the public access tube include two retired Austin military men who offer a pair of programs using tapes prepared by the World Anti-Communist League. Less extreme organizations have also discovered the medium. The National Right to Work League has shown its anti-union film *Scepter of Violence* on a number of systems, and pro-life groups have offered *The Silent Scream*, a controversial anti-abortion fea-

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